

**‘POWER TO KILL:’ A DISCOURSE OF THE ROYAL HUNT DURING THE  
REIGNS OF SÜLEYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT AND AHMED I**

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Submitted to the Graduate School of Arts and Social Sciences  
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **‘POWER TO KILL:’ THE ROYAL HUNT DURING THE REIGNS OF SULEYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT AND AHMED I**

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History, MA Thesis, 2009

Thesis Supervisor: Tülay Artan

Keywords: the royal hunt, falconry, hunting grounds, power to kill

This thesis is an exercise in looking at narrative sources with the particular topic of the royal hunt, with a very particular point of view: the royal hunt during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent in relation to that of Ahmed I. The thesis takes a three-fold approach to the issue of the royal hunt, following from the physical hunt itself, the animals used in the hunt, and the geography of the hunt, as well as the ceremonial surrounding the royal hunt, to the portrayal of power by means of the example of the royal hunt in text and image. The approach has been to view narrative sources as constructs, and to construct then a sense of the practice of the royal hunt as evinced in the narrative sources. The royal hunt hinged on the idea of the ruler's power to kill, as well as power to spare and this was further emphasized by the ceremonial, by the hierarchy, by the geography of the hunting grounds, whether the hunt was a large battue, seen by many, or whether it was conducted in the privacy of royal gardens. This very element was further taken to portray the power to kill and the power to spare in narrative and visual sources.

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## ÖZET

### ÖLDÜRME İKTİDARI: KANUNİ SULTAN SÜLEYMAN VE I.AHMED DÖNEMİNDE AV

Melis Taner

Tarih, Master Tezi, 2009

Tez Danışmanı: Tülay Artan

Anahtar Kelimeler: av, doğancılık, av alanları, öldürme iktidarı

Bu tez Osmanlı tarih ve kroniklerinde av konusuna kısıtlı bir açıdan bakan bir egzersizdir. Kanuni Sultan Süleyman döneminde ve onunla ilişkin I.Ahmed döneminde av konusunu işler. Tez üçlü bir yaklaşımdan yola çıkar: avın kendisi, avda kullanılan hayvanlar, avın coğrafyası ve seremonisinden, metin ve imgede güç gösterisine. Tezin yaklaşımı tarih ve kronikleri birer kurgu olarak algılamak ve aynı zamanda bu kaynaklardan avın kendisi hakkında bir fikir edinmek. Avdaki iktidar anlayışı çoğunlukla öldürme iktidarı ve bununla beraber canını bağışlama iktidarı üzerine kuruludur. Bu ise sultanların avlarında seremoni ile, avdaki hiyerarşi ile, avın coğrafyası ile, süreklilik avlarının gürültüsü ve gözlenebilirliği veya hassa bahçelerindeki avların gizliliği ve görünmezliği ile vurgulanır. Avdaki öldürme ve bağışlama gücü ise tarihlerin ve kroniklerin ve ayrıca minyatürlerin kurgusunda da vurgulanır.

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## INTRODUCTION

“And what have kings, that privates have not too, save ceremony, save general ceremony?”<sup>1</sup>

David Cannadine begins the study on *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*<sup>2</sup> with this line from Shakespeare’s play *Henry V*. Perhaps Henry V’s remark fits no better practice than that of the hunt. While the “hunting/gathering method of resource extraction prevailed throughout most of the history of our species,”<sup>3</sup> the “politics of the hunt”<sup>4</sup> presents how the ceremonial, the ritual and pomp distinguish the royal hunt from a form of subsistence, and how different discourses of the royal hunt may be employed in different contexts.

That the hunt is a kingly sport<sup>5</sup> is well attested from as early as the seventh-century B.C., from the relief scenes of Ashurbanipal’s (668-631 BC) hunting exploits, for his palace at Nineveh, now housed at the British Museum. The preparations of the hunt, the physicality and visibility (or at times seclusion) of the royal hunt, the martial qualities and the dangers it involves, as well as its pomp and circumstance make it among the favourites of courtly pastimes. It was a show of martial prowess, as well as justice. It was a rite of passage. With its ceremonial, with the types of animals hunted and how they were killed, it was an elite affair. But perhaps more than simply a courtly pastime, the ruler’s ‘power to kill’ separates him from others, making the royal hunt a ritual of power. It involved pomp, hierarchy, spectacle but all these hinged on the idea of the ruler’s power to kill and power to spare.

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<sup>1</sup>Henry V, Act IV, Scene I.

<sup>2</sup>David Cannadine, “Introduction: Divine Rites of Kings” ed. *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 1-19, 1.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006): 2. Henceforth, Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> See Larry Silver, “Caesar Ludens: Emperor Maximilian I and the Waning Middle Ages” in *Cultural Visions: Essays in the History of Culture*, Ed. Penny Sax, Benjamin Schine, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000). Henceforth, Silver, *Caesar Ludens*.

In particular, throughout the Middle Ages in Europe, many books and manuals were written on hunting and falconry. Quite a number of these manuals were luxury copies commissioned by the rulers, testifying to the courtly interest in hunting. Perhaps one of the most famous and extensive is the *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus*<sup>6</sup> (On the Art of Hunting with Birds) of Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen (1194-1250). Around 1300, a French translation of this work was made for Jean de Dampierre.<sup>7</sup> Both are widely illustrated codices that are deluxe editions. The earliest extant hunting manual is from the second half of the thirteenth century, the *De Arte Bersandi* (On the Art of Hunting) by Guicennans. Also from the second half of the thirteenth century is a manual on hunting deer, the *La Chasse du Cerf* (Deer hunting). The *El Libro de Monteria* (The Book on the Art of Hunting) of King Alphonse XI is also a richly illustrated codex. A popular, widely copied and illustrated late 14<sup>th</sup> century manual by Gaston Phoebus, count of Foix, the *Le Livre de Chasse*. Another late 14<sup>th</sup> century text is the *Les Livres du Roy Modus et de la Royne Ratio* (The Books of King Moderation and Queen Reason) of Henri de Ferrières, discussing the hunt in a conceptual manner. A later work that is also illustrated and that devotes quite some attention to the hunt is the ‘autobiography’ of Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519), the *Weisskunig* (The White King or The Wise King). Also from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century is *The Boke of St. Albans*, a book on hunting, hawking and heraldry attributed to a Dame Juliana Barnes. These works, be they illuminated manuscripts or printed books with illustrations were meant to both instruct and also portray a certain sense of power that is inherent in the royal hunt, and reflected in the luxury copies. In addition to illustrated hunting manuals, many narrative sources from the anonymous middle English romance *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* to Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Tristan*, to Maximilian I’s *Theuerdank*, portray lively hunting scenes.

Despite the wealth of material, it is only recently that more studies have been devoted to the royal hunt, especially within the context of high and late medieval England. Even Joachim Bumke’s *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*<sup>8</sup> only briefly dwells on the hunt, whereas it concentrates extensively on tournaments and

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<sup>6</sup>Vat., MS Lat.1071.

<sup>7</sup>BNF, MS Fr.12400.

<sup>8</sup> Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, (first published in the German original, *Höfische Kultur: Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, 1986), Tr. Thomas Dunlap, (Woodstock: The Overlook Press, 2000).

jousting.<sup>9</sup> John Cummins' 2001 book, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting*<sup>10</sup> is an extensive study of hunting with hound and hawk in the late middle ages, and also sheds light on courtly life and the hunt with its erotic aspects. Richard Almond in his book *Medieval Hunting*<sup>11</sup> strives to fill the lacunae of issues of hunting by the peasants and by women. Robin Oggins in *The Kings and their Hawks*<sup>12</sup> studies falconry and hawking, also in medieval England, and concentrates on kingly households up to the fourteenth century. Rupert Isaacson's study *The Wild Host: The History and Meaning of the Hunt* takes the hunt from its early examples to the present day. Most studies concentrate on the medieval hunt in Western Europe and England in particular. Thomas Allsen, in his ambitious book *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History*<sup>13</sup>, takes a wider look at the royal hunt within the context of a 'core' area of Iran, North India and Turkestan, and a 'periphery' of Western Europe, Armenia and China, over a long period of time. In so doing, he tries to find an explanation for the homogeneity of the royal hunt across the continent.<sup>14</sup> In this study that ranges over a wide geography, Allsen does not, however, refer to the practice in the Ottoman empire.

While most studies on Ottoman history and art do acknowledge the royal hunt, especially during the reign of the 'hunt-mad'<sup>15</sup> Mehmed IV, very few studies have been devoted to the study of the royal hunt in the Ottoman empire, and are rather lacking and unreliable. Most are in the nature of short articles exploring a particular aspect of the

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<sup>9</sup>Werner Rösener, *Jagd und Höfische Kultur im Mittelalter*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 12.

<sup>10</sup>John Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting*. (London: Weidenfeld&Nicholson, 1988; reprint, London: Phoenix, 2001). Henceforth Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk*.

<sup>11</sup>Richard Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2003). Henceforth Almond, *Medieval Hunting*.

<sup>12</sup>Robin Oggins, *The Kings and their Hawks: Falconry in Medieval England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). Henceforth Oggins, *The Kings and their Hawks*.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). Henceforth Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>15</sup> See Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1991), 175.

hunt,<sup>16</sup> encyclopaedia entries, unpublished theses<sup>17</sup>, or works for popular consumption.<sup>18</sup> İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı's work, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*<sup>19</sup> is still one source that many of these shorter studies refer to, especially in terms of the institution and establishment of the hunt, and falconers and hawkers. Uzunçarşılı's work makes use of archival sources and concentrates on the institution of the royal hunt, and especially falconry. It does not, however, take into consideration narrative sources, nor does it look at different aspects of the royal hunt, such as the ceremonial, the ritual, the types of animals hunted, or weaponry used in the royal hunt, all of which are elements requiring further, separate studies.

Following upon Thomas Allsen's suggestion that the hunt was more or less a common, homogeneous practice across the Eurasian continent, this thesis is an attempt to get an idea of the royal hunt, at a point where Tülay Artan's article, "A *Book of Kings* Produced and Presented as a Treatise on Hunting" is suggestive of further study, that is to say, the practice of the royal hunt during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, in a continuity

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<sup>16</sup>A recent compilation of short articles on various aspects of the hunt, from hunting parties of Mesopotamian kings to references to hunting in Divan poetry, *Av ve Avcılık Kitabı* devotes several chapters to the Ottoman hunt. In this compilation, Necdet Öztürk provides an overview of references to the hunt in Ottoman chronicles until 1500 while Ali Efdal Özkul writes about bird trainers in Cyprus under Ottoman rule. Nalan Türkmen looks at the iconography of the hunt, especially within the context of the *Hünernâme* (H. 1523, H. 1524), a royal manuscript in two volumes showing the deeds and talents of the Ottoman sultans up to Süleyman the Magnificent in the first volume, with the second volume dedicated to the talents of Süleyman himself. See Emine Gürsoy Naskali, and Hilal Oytun Altun, *Av ve Avcılık Kitabı*, (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2008). Henceforth, *Av ve Avcılık Kitabı*.

In a separate article, Hüseyin Yazıcı, provides a short overview of references to hunting and falconry in the epic of Dede Korkut.

Hüseyin Yazıcı, "Dede Korkut Hikayelerinde Av" *Acta Turcica* 1, 2009: 108-122.

Tülay Artan's recent article, "A *Book of Kings* Produced and Presented as a Treatise on Hunting" dwells on one early seventeenth-century manuscript housed at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 415), on hippology, hippiatry and hunting.

See Tülay Artan, "A *Book of Kings* Produced and Presented as a Treatise on Hunting" *Muqarnas* 25, 2008: 299-330.

<sup>17</sup>Ahmed Işık, in his unpublished MA thesis looks at the institution of falconry in the Ottoman empire. He uses archival sources and to some extent narrative sources and refers mostly to İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı's work (more on this later). The short section on the training of falcons is recounted through word of mouth, by the current practice of falconry.

See Ahmet Işık, "Osmanlı Devletinde Avcı Kuşu Yetiştiricilerinin Statüsü" Unpub.MA Thesis (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Osmanlı Müesseseleri ve Medeniyeti Tarihi Anabilim Dalı, 1986). Henceforth Işık, *Avcı Kuşu Yetiştiricilerinin Statüsü*.

<sup>18</sup> See Özbay Güven, *Türklerde Spor Kültürü*, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1999). Henceforth, Güven, *Türklerde Spor Kültürü*.

Also see Atıf Kahraman, *Osmanlı Devletinde Spor*, (Ankara: T.C.Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997).

Henceforth Kahraman, *Osmanlı Devletinde Spor*.

<sup>19</sup>İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988). Henceforth, Uzunçarşılı, *Saray Teşkilatı*.

with his predecessors, and in relation to Ahmed I, for whom Süleyman the Magnificent is a role model.

Artan suggests that the royal hunt took a turn during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent.<sup>20</sup> Süleyman the Magnificent was a passionate hunter, and he used the royal hunt, not only as a leisurely elite activity, but a regnal and martial activity that found its way to the many illustrations in the *Süleymannâme* (TPML, H. 1517) and the *Hünernâme*<sup>21</sup> (TPML, H. 1523, H. 1524), to visualize the ideal ‘hunter-sultan.’ It was again with Ahmed I that the royal hunt took another turn, perhaps this time from a regnal and martial activity to an activity laden with much feasting and banquets.

The thesis thus revolves mainly around these two characters: Süleyman the Magnificent and Ahmed I. It is not, however, meant to be about the reigns of these sultans, nor is it meant to give a detailed account of all the hunts undertaken by the sultans, or a description of the institution of the royal hunt based on archival sources. The aim of this thesis is to rather look at a discourse of the royal hunt in textual and visual sources, of a certain ‘construct’ of the sultan as a hunter and a warrior. In this sense, it is also partly about an ‘image-making’ of the sultans. Recently several studies have been devoted to the ‘image-making’ of Süleyman the Magnificent<sup>22</sup> and all show how versatile a subject ‘image-making’ can be. While this thesis does not claim to be on the ‘image-making’ of the sultans, a subject which requires a different study on its own, it does point out that the image of the ‘hunter-sultan’ and the ‘warrior-sultan’ are aspects that have not been highlighted before and require further study.

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<sup>20</sup>Artan, *Treatise on Hunting*, 301.

<sup>21</sup> Only the second volume of the *Hünernâme* was available to me, the transcription of which has been done by Zekeriya Eyüboğlu in an unpublished M.A.thesis. See Zekeriya Eyüboğlu, “Şehnâmecî Lokmân’ın Hünernâme’si (2.Cilt-1-154.Varak) İnceleme-Metin-Sözlük” Unpub.MA Thesis, İstanbul University, 1998. Henceforth, Zekeriya Eyüboğlu, *Hünernâme*.

<sup>22</sup> See Gülru Necipoğlu, “Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg Papal Rivalry” *The Art Bulletin* 71, No.3 (1989): 401-427.

Also see Zeynep Nevin Yelçe, “The Making of Sultan Süleyman: A Study of Process/es of Image-making and Reputation Management” Unpub.Diss., Sabancı University, 2009.

And Ebru Turan, “The Sultan’s Favourite: Ibrahim Pasha and the Making of the Ottoman Universal Sovereignty in the Reign of Sultan Süleyman (1516-1526)” Unpub.Diss., The University of Chicago, 2007.

In relation to the image of the ‘hunter-sultan’ and the ‘warrior-sultan’ both textual and visual sources are consulted. Especially the *Süleymannâme* and the *Hünernâme*, mimicking the format of the early 11th century Persian epic, the *Shahnâme* of Firdowsi, or the Book of Kings, are important sources in understanding the construct of the image of ‘the hunter-sultan’ and the ‘warrior-sultan,’ also mimicking the hunting and martial prowess of the legendary heroes of the *Shahnâme*. The thesis follows a three-fold look on the construct of the ‘hunter-sultan.’ The first chapter dwells on the practice of the royal hunt itself, the animals used in the hunt, the geography and ritual of the hunt. The second chapter follows from the physical hunt itself to the construct of the ‘hunter-sultan’ in text. The final chapter dwells on a similar construct, this time in image, but with close references to text as well. Thus, from the physical hunt itself, and the portrayal of power in the hunt, the thesis moves on to how the royal hunt was also used in text and image to portray a similar idea and show of power, that itself could be used in different contexts and discourses.

As with most subjects, choices have to be made and within the limits of a thesis, certain aspects, or sources have to be left unused. Certainly the topic of the royal hunt allows for numerous approaches, from archival study, to animals hunted and weaponry used, to references to hunting in literature, and especially divan poetry, practical books and manuals on falconry<sup>23</sup> and so on. While recognizing these possibilities, I have chosen to concentrate on a very particular aspect of the royal hunt, that is to say, a certain construct of the hunter-sultan during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, and in direct relation to this particular aspect of the sultan, during the reign of Ahmed I, using narrative and visual sources.

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<sup>23</sup> For an overview of manuals on falconry (*bāznâme*) see Rifat Bilge, “İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Bulunan Bâznâmeler” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* VII-VIII, 1945: 169-182.



## Primary Sources

Amidst the body of rather lacking works on the Ottoman royal hunt, that mostly use archival sources, my approach is to use narrative sources, that is histories and chronicles. One of my main sources is the account of Kemal Paşa-zāde (1468/9-1534),<sup>24</sup> a writer of military origins, who participated in campaigns alongside Bayezid II, and who later became a student of Molla Lutfi, *müderris* (professor) of Filibe, himself to become a professor (1505/6), then a *kadıasker* (chief-judge) (1511/2) and finally *şeyhülislam* (1525).<sup>25</sup> His account, the *Tevārîh-i Âl-i Osman* (Histories of the Ottomans) is in ten volumes, the last of which is dedicated to the deeds of Süleyman the Magnificent, from the year of his accession in 1520 to the aftermath of his campaign of Mohács in 1526. As a contemporary of Süleyman the Magnificent, Kemal Paşa-zāde, in the tenth book of his *Histories* provides a lively and detailed account of the battles of Süleyman the Magnificent. In detailed narrative he sets out the events, which he sometimes couples with verses that he at times repeats throughout his works. Kemal Paşa-zāde has been identified as an ‘idiosyncratic’ writer, one who he did not try to imitate others.<sup>26</sup> It is perhaps this idiosyncrasy that makes for a lively reading, and ample material for an idea of a construct of the ruler in question.

Along with Kemal Paşa-zāde, I have looked at descriptions of royal hunts in contemporary accounts, of Bostan-zāde Mustafâ Efendî Tirevî’s (1498-1569) *Cülûs-nâme-i Sultân Süleymân*, (TPML, R.1283),<sup>27</sup> Sa’dî b. Abd ül-Mûte’al’s *Selîmnâme*, which covers the period 1512 to 1524, and was completed in the late 1540s (TPML, R.1277), the *şehnâme* Ârifî’s official history of Süleyman the Magnificent, the *Süleymannâme* written in mid-16th century, and Koca Nişancı Sâlih b. Celâl’s *Tarih-i Budun* (TPML, R. 1280)<sup>28</sup> written in the

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<sup>24</sup>See Ahmet Uğur, *Ibn-i Kemal*, (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1987). Henceforth, Uğur, *Ibn-i Kemal*. Also see *Şeyhülislam İbn Kemâl*, ed. Hayri Bolay, Bahaeddin Yıldız, Mustafa Sait Yazıcıoğlu, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları No: 36, 1986).

<sup>25</sup>Şefaettin Severcan, XVII.

<sup>26</sup>Uğur, *Ibn-i Kemal*, 31.

<sup>27</sup>See, Hüseyin Gazi Yurdaydın, “Bostan’ın Süleymânâme,” *Belleten*, vol.19, no.74 (April 1955), pp.137-202.

<sup>28</sup> I would like to thank Zeynep Yelçe for pointing out these unpublished sources.

early 16th century. Bostan-zāde was in the service of Kemal Paşa-zāde in 1519,<sup>29</sup> therefore a contemporary. Sa‘di b. Abd ül-Mute‘al’s text has certain similarities with that of Koca Nişancı Sâlih b. Celâl, but there is not much information about Sa‘di, and how the two texts are related is difficult to establish. Other contemporary sources like Sinan Çavuş’s *Tarih-i Feth-i Şikloş, Estergon ve İstolni-Belgrad*,<sup>30</sup> and Celalzāde’s *Tabaḳāt ül-memâlik ve Derecât ül-mesâlik*<sup>31</sup> were also consulted, but did not contain as long and lively accounts of the royal hunt as the above-mentioned texts. Where appropriate, earlier and later narrative accounts were used in comparison. Earlier sources include Neşri’s *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ*<sup>32</sup>, Sûzî Çelebi’s *Mihaloğlu Ali Beğ Gazavât-nâmesi*,<sup>33</sup> the anonymous *Gazavât-ı Sultan Murad b. Mehmed Hân*.<sup>34</sup> In choosing these two published gazavatnames, I wanted to see whether a similar discourse of the war laden with images of the hunt was present, as was the case in Kemal Paşa-zāde’s account. As such, earlier sources have been used only where appropriate and within the context of a discourse of war and discourse of the hunt. Later sources include Selânikî Mustafa Efendi’s *Târîh-i Selânikî*<sup>35</sup>, Hasan Bey-zāde’s *Hasan Bey-zāde Târîhi*,<sup>36</sup> which has ‘borrowed’ much from Kemal Paşa-zāde’s *Tevârîh*, and Topçular Kâtibi ‘Abdülkâdir’s *History*.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Hüseyin Yurdaydın, “Bostan’ın Süleymannâmesi” *Belleten*, 189.

<sup>30</sup>Sinan Çavuş, *Tarih-i Feth-i Şikloş, Estergon ve İstolni-Belgrad*, (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Turkish Republic, 1987).

<sup>31</sup>Celalzāde, *Tabaḳāt ül-memâlik ve derecât ül-mesâlik* in *Geschichte Sultan Süleyman Kanunis von 1520 bis 1557*, Ed. Petra Kappert, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981). Henceforth, Celalzāde, *Tabaḳāt*.

<sup>32</sup>Neşri, *Kitab-ı Cihan-nümâ*, Vol. I, II, Ed. Faik Reşit Unat, Mehmed Köymen, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995). Henceforth Neşri, *Kitab-ı Cihan-nümâ*.

<sup>33</sup>Agâh Sırrı Levend, Ed. *Gazavât-nâmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey’in Gazavât-nâmesi*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000).

<sup>34</sup>Halil İnalçık, Mevlud Oğuz, Ed. *Gazavât-ı Sultân Murād b. Mehmed Hân: İzladî ve Varna Savaşları (1443-1444) Üzerine Anonim Gazavatnâme*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989).

<sup>35</sup>Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, *Târîh-i Selânikî*, Ed. Mehmet İpşirli, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999). Henceforth Selânikî, *Târîh-i Selânikî*.

<sup>36</sup>Hasan Bey-zāde Ahmed Paşa, *Hasan Bey-zāde Tarihi*, Ed. Şevki Nezihi Aykut, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2004). Henceforth Hasan Bey-zāde, *Hasan Bey-zāde Tarihi*.

<sup>37</sup>Topçular Kâtibi ‘Abdülkâdir Efendi, *Topçular Kâtibi ‘Abdülkâdir Efendi Tarihi*, Ed. Ziya Yılmaz, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003). Henceforth Topçular Kâtibi, *Topçular Kâtibi ‘Abdülkâdir Efendi Tarihi*.

Another major textual source was the *Zübdetü't Tevārîh*<sup>38</sup> (Cream of Histories) of Mustafa Sâfi, the imam of Ahmed I. Mustafa Sâfi's *Zübdetü't-Tevārîh*, composed between 1609 and 1614, is an invaluable source with regards to understanding the royal practice of hunting, as well as early 17th century Ottoman courtly culture. The text is composed of two volumes, the first of which is "an account of the person of the sultan"<sup>39</sup> and describes the various virtues of Ahmed I in an exceedingly laudatory manner. The second volume deals with the events of the period. What is perhaps remarkable, however, is the frequent and long descriptions of hunting and hunting parties. While the first volume devotes a substantial number of folios to the description of Ahmed's strength and hunting prowess (following his overly laudatory tenor), the second volume provides a unique example of the preparations of the hunting grounds, unparalleled within the context of Ottoman narrative sources. It is not, however, only because of these long and frequent descriptions of the royal hunts and hunting parties that I have chosen this particular text. The text of Mustafa Sâfi is interesting also in terms of its many references to Süleyman the Magnificent. The author consistently tries to forge connections between Ahmed I and Süleyman the Magnificent, and it is also within the descriptions of hunts that these connections are attempted.

Following along the lines of a breakthrough in term of the royal hunt during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, visual sources also increasingly portrayed the sultan in hunts. In fact, as Artan points out, this "distinctive topos was retrospectively applied,"<sup>40</sup> so previous sultans too were portrayed as participating in hunts. The miniatures of two manuscripts in particular, the *Hünernâme* and the *Süleymannâme*<sup>41</sup> will be viewed along the lines of the royal hunt, the retinue of the sultan, the animals they used in the hunt

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<sup>38</sup>Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü't Tevārîh*, Vols.I,II. Ed. İbrahim Hakkı Çuhadar, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003). Also see Rhoads Murphey, *Mustafa Safi's Version of the Kingly Virtues as Presented in his Zübdetü't Tevarih or Annals of Sultan Ahmed, 1012-1023 A.H./1603-1614 A.D.* in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province and the West*, Vol. II, Ed. Colin Imber, (London: Tauris, 2005). Henceforth Murphey, *Mustafa Safi*.

<sup>39</sup>Murphey, *Mustafa Safi*, 24.

<sup>40</sup>Artan, *Treatise on Hunting*, 300.

<sup>41</sup>See Esin Atıl, *Süleymannâme: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent*, (Washington: National Gallery of Art; New York, H.N.Abrams, 1986).

and the animals they hunted, as well as portraying an image of the sultan as a ‘hunter-sultan,’ and in relation to the Persian epic, the *Shahnāma*.

The *Süleymannāme* is the last volume of a five-volume history of the Ottomans, written in Persian by the court *şehnāme*ci Ārifî. This volume, finished in the summer of 1558 has 69 miniatures. Seven of these depict hunting scenes. Another manuscript that has quite a number of hunting scenes is the *Hünernāme*, or the Book of Talents. The *Hünernāme* is composed of two volumes. The text was begun by Ārifî, continued by Eflâtûn Şîrvânî who only wrote three parts, and was finished by the *şehnāme*ci Seyyid Lokman.<sup>42</sup> The manuscript was conceived in four parts. The first volume tells of the deeds and talents of the early Ottoman sultans until Selim I. The whole of the second volume is reserved to the deeds and talents of Süleyman the Magnificent. The next two, unwritten volumes, were to be (as evinced in the first volume) on Selim II and Murad III.<sup>43</sup> The first volume was finished in 1584, and the second in 1588. The two volumes have in total 110 miniatures, 45 in the first, 65 in the second volume. There are eight hunting scenes in the first volume, and five single-folio and six double-folio hunting scenes in the second volume. The second volume also devotes a section to Süleyman’s successes in hunting and archery.<sup>44</sup> Both the *Süleymannāme* and the second volume of the *Hünernāme* are visual testaments constructed of the sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, and his predecessors, in the case of the first volume of the *Hünernāme*. Unfortunately, there are no surviving images of Ahmed I hunting done by an Ottoman artist.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>45</sup>While we do not know about Ottoman images of royal hunts during the reign of Ahmed I, there are European visual accounts of royal processions, portraying Selim II, and later on, Mehmed IV. See Artan, *Treatise on Hunting*, 301.

## CHAPTER I: THE ROYAL HUNT IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

### I. 1 The Partners

A double-folio image (fig.1) from the second volume of the *Hünernâme*, dedicated to the ‘talents’ of Süleyman the Magnificent, depicts Süleyman the Magnificent (fig. 2), the “epitome of the hunter-sultan”<sup>46</sup> killing with his sword a bear whose entrails have spilled out. The sultan is mounted on a brown horse with golden trappings. Behind him are his mounted *silahdar*, carrying his arrows and arrow case, and handing him arrows, and *ibrikdar*, who normally carries a flask. Walking alongside them, is a *peyk* with a musket. Watching him are mounted *müteferrikas* (one of an elite group in the Palace) with pointed black caps, as well as men in the sultan’s close retinue. The facing folio shows in the centre of the composition two dogs who have been unleashed by their keepers, the *zağarcıs* and *samsoncus*, biting into a gazelle. The brown dog has drooping ears, while the white one, and the three other dogs still on their leashes have short pricked ears. On the upper left of the image is a man, mounted on a horse. Sitting in front of him is a cheetah. Another mounted man is about to fly his falcon at a bird. This double folio image depicts the sultan on a hunt with his close retinue, hunting with dogs, falcons, and a cheetah seated on a horse. From hounds and hawks to cheetahs, this image shows the variety of animals used in the chase.

Thomas Allsen points out that, in his famous hunting manual *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus*, Holy Roman Emperor “Frederick II divided the chase into three basic types: hunting with inanimate objects, hunting with animal partners, and hunting that combines both.”<sup>47</sup> As portrayed in this image, for the Ottoman sultans, hunting with the aid of dogs and falcons combined with inanimate objects like bows and arrows, swords and muskets was a common practice.

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<sup>46</sup>Artan, *Treatise on Hunting*, 300.

<sup>47</sup>Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*, 53.

### I.1.a. Falcons

Falconry,<sup>48</sup> by itself, was a favourite sport and pastime among the Ottoman sultans. Koca Nişancı Sâlih b.Celal, in his *Târih-i Budun*, describes one of Süleyman the Magnificent's hunts in the September of 1528. He writes that the sultan flew his raptor birds at geese and cranes.<sup>49</sup> He is also depicted in one miniature (fig. 3) in the *Süleymannâme* hunting with a falcon. The sultan, mounted on a dappled gray horse, is about to fly a falcon, while another has already attacked a deer. In addition to using falcons in the hunt, the sultan also enjoyed watching the training of falcons (more on this later).<sup>50</sup> Falcons were also a symbol of rank and status. Hawks and falcons were also among favourite gift items among royalty, and one could get his hands on precious falcons as gifts<sup>51</sup> or as ransom.

In the Ottoman royal hunting establishment those responsible for the capture, training and keeping of hunting birds had an important place.<sup>52</sup> As hunting aids, the Ottomans mostly used varieties of hawks or falcons. How these animals flew and captured their prey was based on their physical characteristics. Falcons kill their prey by ascending on them from a height and hitting them with great speed. They have “narrow pointed wings and narrow tapering tails”<sup>53</sup> as opposed to the shorter, rounder wings and longer tails of

<sup>48</sup> Falconry in particular is a relatively more widely studied area, also in the case of the Ottoman empire. This study therefore is not meant to be exhaustive. For more about the institution of trainers of raptors, see Uzunçarşılı, *Saray Teşkilatı* and Ahmet Işık, *Avcı Kuşu Yetiştiricilerinin Statüsü*.

<sup>49</sup> Koca Nişancı Salih b. Celal, *Tarih-i Budun*, TPML R. 1280, fol. 79.

“O kûşelerden uçan ‘asker-i tıyûr üstine havâle olan havayiler leşkeriniñ yer u bâlâ bulut gibi gökyüzünü tıonattı. O meydâna zîr u bâlâdan iki ‘asker bir birine girmişdi. Ortada ‘âcib dönüşler ve kovuşlar eylediler. Ceresler avâzı ile ol aralar tıoldı. Şâhinler ile balabanlar kıaraca kıazlara kıafire zilli Rum-ili kıazileri gibi tıokınırdı. Tıurnaları şunğurlar kıallaç gibi kıökden yöğen yün gibi atarak indirirdi. Şâhbâz bâzlar elinden kebg u tıihu kıılmaz idi.”

<sup>50</sup> Ahmed I too was quite interested in the training of birds. Mustafa Sâfi writes that one day the sultan called for a particular falcon, so that he may watch him eat.

Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü’l Tevâr ih*, Vol. I, 103.

“Yine mûmâ ileyh âyitdiler kıi, bir gün pâdişâh-ı ‘âli-câh kıazretleri kıarem-i kıaşı-ı muhteremden bu kıullarına bir ağı bendelerin gönderüb, fülân tıoğanı benüm kıuzûr-ı şerife kıöndersün. Tâ kıi, kııda tenâvül itdüğini seyr ü temâşâ eyleyem.”

<sup>51</sup> On the acquisition and training of hawks see John Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk*, (London: Phoenix Press, 2001), 195-199. Henceforth Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk*.

<sup>52</sup> For a detailed study on the falconry establishment within the Ottoman court, see Ahmet Işık, *Avcı Kuşu Yetiştiricilerinin Statüsü*.

<sup>53</sup> Oggins, *The Kings and their Hawks*, 10.

hawks. Hawks “usually approach their quarry at a low altitude and fly it down with a quick burst of speed”<sup>54</sup> and “rather than hitting the prey and returning to pick it up, as falcons do, hawks grab or clutch their prey, usually killing by driving their talons into the victim’s body and holding on until the creature is dead, though they may also kill with a stroke of the beak.”<sup>55</sup>

The Ottoman sultans used both falcons and hawks in their hunts, but in hunting, the female peregrine was the favoured raptor as it was larger and faster than the male.<sup>56</sup> Mustafa Sâfi writes, when Sultan Ahmed I was one day hunting ducks and swans in *Rumili bahçesi*, he sent his falcon which landed on the swan’s (*kuğı kuşu*) head.<sup>57</sup> Mustafa Sâfi gives another anecdote from Ahmed I’s hunting expeditions, where he hunted game birds with falcons. He reports from what has been told him by the vizier Halil Paşa, who was formerly the head hawker (*çakırcıbaşı*), and responsible for the training of hawks and falcons.<sup>58</sup> The sultan spying a hunt, asked Halil Paşa for a falcon, who flew his trained (*müeddeb*) falcon towards the sultan so that it may perch on the sultan’s wrist. The sultan then sent the falcon to the hunt, which it immediately captured. The falconers then took the captured bird from the falcon, and not yet getting the opportunity to feed the falcon bits of the prey, the falcon was sent out after yet another bird (*güdâsın virmeden bir şikâr dağî zâhir oldı*).<sup>59</sup> This anecdote gives a clue as to how trained raptors hunt, and how they are rewarded.

The training of raptors included capturing nestlings from protected eyries, or capturing adult falcons with the use of nets. Eyasses (young raptors taken from the nest) were relatively more easily trained and tamed, but “they had to be taught everything.”<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> See Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, 20.

<sup>57</sup> Mustafa Safi, *Zübdetü’l Tevarih*, Vol. I, 143.

“...ve kaçâ-i asmânî gibi kafasına kondı.”

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

“...ben ol târîhde çakırcı başılık manşıbında bulunmak ile eyü toğanlar (ve perrân şahin ve keskin seyfi ve balabanlar) terbiye idüb, rıkâb-ı hümayûnlarına ‘arz itmede mücidd ü sâ‘î ve hüdmetimde keşirü’l-mesâ‘î idüm.”

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

Falcons or hawks could also be caught as adults with the use of nets and snares. And this method would be used widely to catch other kinds of birds. Ottoman narrative sources are rather silent about this. Archival sources, however, reveal much about the provincial organization of the hunting establishment whose duty was to provide the court with falcons and other birds. The *Kanunnâme-i Hâkanî* sets out that in some mountainous grounds were raptor nests, and *yuvacı*s were responsible for watching guard over these nests, making sure the birds were safe until they could fly, when they would be taken to be trained and sent to the court. Raptors could also be caught by setting traps.<sup>61</sup>

It was crucial that the captured raptor be adapted to being around humans, and in particular, its handler. The eyasses were acclimatized to the surroundings, to people. To overcome its fear of people, the animal would be taken in crowded areas, and constantly stroked by its trainer.<sup>62</sup> The bird would also be fitted with bells and a leather leash, serving to tie the bird to its perch.<sup>63</sup>

To train the bird to hunt, the bird would be left hungry and without sleep for a day. The exhausted bird would in this way get used to people. Then a piece of meat, mostly game, would be tied to a long piece of rope, and attached to it would be a wing to resemble a bird. The rope with the piece of meat would be swung in the air, and the raptor let loose. A detail from the first volume of the *Hünernâme* illustrates the training of falcons in this manner (figs. 4-5). A similar method would be used to lure a bird that did not return to its owner. Another image from the *Hünernâme* (fig. 6) shows a falconer trying to lure Murad I's falcon that had escaped after a hunt.

Once the raptor captures the prey, the prey would be taken from it, but the raptor would be rewarded with bits of meat.<sup>64</sup> The training of the bird took a long time and required great effort on the part of the falconer. The falconer had to make sure he does not hinder the falcon from eating a bit of the prey; he had to be gentle, lest the falcon

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<sup>61</sup>Cited in Uzunçarşılı, *Saray Teşkilatı*, 423.

<sup>62</sup> Işık, *Osmanlı Devletinde Avcı Kuş Yetiştiricilerinin Statüsü*, 18.

<sup>63</sup> Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk*, 200.

<sup>64</sup> Işık,



commit suicide by refusing to eat.<sup>65</sup> The falconer had to also aid his falcon. He had to be a good swimmer (fig.7), as suggested by Frederick II in his *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus*; he had to find the falcon and pick up the captured prey. At the court of Ahmed I, Mustafa Sâfi recounts one instance where the falconers had trouble reaching the area where the falcon had dropped the prey, as it was spring time and the land was muddy with the melting snow and the rain.<sup>66</sup>

A successful falconer would also be duly rewarded. One of Ahmed I's hunting endeavours is reported to Mustafa Sâfi by a certain, Muḥammed Ağa, the chief falconer. The Sultan, he reported, seated on a horse with a pleasant stride and a non-pareil saddle, went from the imperial palace to a garden called *Rûmîli bahçesi* with the aim of hunting. Taking with him his falcon, the Sultan and his hunting companions rushed to the hunting plains. There, by the waterside, they encountered a duck (*mürğ-âb*), “forgetful of the fierceness of the ferocious falcon”<sup>67</sup> and its head tucked in its breast “inebriated with the wine of heedlessness.”<sup>68</sup> The beating of drums, and the sound of falcon bells awoke the duck from its sleep, and fearing the sounds to be those of the horn of *Isrâfil*, flew into the air. The falcon, in the blink of an eye grasped the duck in the air and dropped it to the ground. The Sultan was well-pleased with this and awarded his chief falconer and his hawkers each with robes of honour.<sup>69</sup>

The hawkers or falconers who were among the *şikar ağaları*, or masters of the hunt, also had the privilege of being in close proximity to the sultan; when the sultan was on the

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<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>66</sup> Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü't Tevârih*, Vol. I, 143.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol.I, 143.

“mirḳād-ı batş-ı çerḫ-i ğaddârdan ğâfil...”

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

“şarâb-ı ğaflet ile mest-i ḫarâb olub, bâşın ceyb-i tefekküre çekmiş”

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

“pâdişâh-ı ‘âlem işbu fâl-i meymenet-me’âl ile hōş-hâl ü ḫurrem olub, bu kullarını ve çaķırcı bâşı bendelerini birer ḫıl‘ at-i fâḫire ile teşrîf ve ol gün ‘azm itdikleri bâğce-i dîdâr-ı şerîfleri ile telṭîf etlediler.”

Ahmet Işık, in his thesis also points to this fact, earlier denoted by Metin And, that when the head falconer was successful in the hunt with his falcon, he would receive a certain gratuity.

move, they were among the *rikab ağaları*,<sup>70</sup> those who were literally by the stirrups of the sultan, that is those who had the privilege of riding with the sultan.

### I.1.b. Hounds

While falconry was a favourite endeavour among the Otoman sultans, they also frequently used hounds in their hunting expeditions. Many hunting scenes in the *Hünernāme*, as well as the *Süleymannāme* depict hounds chasing hares, bearing their teeth, or biting into prey. One miniature from the first volume of the *Hünernāme* (fig.8) depicts Bayezid I shooting arrows at a deer, while his guards stand behind him, handing him the arrows. Among the hunting party are two hawkers, with white hawks perched on their wrists. Keepers of hunting dogs, hold different breeds of hounds on leashes (fig. 9). One is a brown and white dog with short ears. Two others, a black and a white one are probably also the same breed. Another, a light brown hound with a brocaded vest,<sup>71</sup> with its slim body, pendulous ears, and long hair on the backs of its legs and tail, is in all likelihood a saluqi.<sup>72</sup> A later Mughal image (figs. 10-11) Rajasthan shows Maharana Bhim Singh returning from a boar hunt. On a dominantly green background, the haloed king, dressed in green is at the centre of the composition, seated on a brown horse. His attendants surround him, providing him breeze and shelter from the sun. In front are camels, carrying the caught boars. Two men walk two dogs, again covered in decorated vests. The white dog, with pendulous ears is probably a saluqi.

Another image (fig. 12) from the first volume of the *Hünernāme* shows Murad I aiming a golden mace at a leopard. The mace has hit the leopard on its right hind leg. The hilly hunting ground is surrounded by a picket fence. Behind is a tall hill. A couple of trees indicate a forested area, and a goat has made its way to the top of the hill, and a hunter is

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<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>71</sup>A certain Petro from Portugal who had been in Ottoman lands during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent observes that they dressed their dogs (*çullamak*) as they did their horses. Quoted in Kahraman, *Osmanlı Devletinde Spor*, 227.

<sup>72</sup>For the breed, see *Al-Mansur's Book on Hunting*, and Rex Smith, "Arabian Hunt, the 'Saluqi'—Further Consideration of the Word and Other Observations on the Breed," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 43, No. 3, (1980): 459-465.

aiming his bow and arrow at the goat. In the foreground there is another hunter, who has been more successful, and is very ambitiously carrying a deer on his back. There are also four dogs, held on leashes by their keepers. Two dogs, a white and a golden yellow one, look quite like the dog in H. 1524 fol.105a (fig. 9) , with the brocaded vest. These do not wear brocaded vests but have golden chains around their necks.<sup>73</sup> Two others, a tan and a brown one, are stuffer with short pricked ears, perhaps a type of mastiff hound.

Unfortunately, despite the plethora of visual sources, it is difficult to piece together what kinds of dogs these are, much less how they were trained. Within the hunting establishment, *zağarcıs*, *saksoncus*, and *turnacı* are responsible for the keeping and training of dogs. These ‘posts’ are named after the types of dogs; that is to say, *zağarcıs* are those who look after a type of dog known as *zağar*. *Saksoncus* (also known as *samsoncu* or *seksioncu*) are those that look after a type of dog named as *sakson*. The post of the *turnacı* was created, during the reign of Mehmed II, when a hound caught a crane (*turna*) before the sultan.<sup>74</sup> They trained and looked after hounds that were used in falconry.<sup>75</sup> Such dogs may be used to find the prey, or to aid a hunting bird “by seizing a large prey which it had brought to the ground.”<sup>76</sup> As well as being used in falconry, hunting dogs may be used on their own to find, chase and capture prey. Depending on the terrain, sight-hounds or smell-hounds could be used. Ottoman narrative sources are quite reticent with regards to hunting with dogs. Pictorial sources also are quite reticent with regards to how the dogs might have hunted as they are usually depicted either after the prey has been caught, or on the leash. Still, sources do point to the use of dogs in hunts. Koca Nişancı Sâlih bin Celâl, in his *Târih-i Budun*, writes that “the hounds were doughty in chasing after the prey; the ‘sasons’<sup>77</sup> (صاصون) peirced into the gazelles with

<sup>73</sup> Neşri writes that Murad I had thousands of houns with gold and silver chains, and many falcons.

Neşri, *Kitab-ı Cihan-nümâ*, Vol. I, 309.

“Ve nice biñ altun gümüş halkalu itleri vardı. Toğanları yine öyle idi.”

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> Işık, *Osmanlı Devletinde Avcı Kuşu Yetiştiricilerinin Statüsü*, 14.

<sup>76</sup> Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk*, 211.

<sup>77</sup> The keepers of dogs are usually known as a variation of ‘samson’, ‘samsun’, ‘sakson’, or ‘seksion.’ In this particular example, depicting one of Süleyman the Magnificent’s hunts, the dogs are named as ‘sason.’

their sword-like teeth such that their bones shook; they attacked the beasts in such manner; each one had turned into a lion.”<sup>78</sup>

It is difficult, however, to know what kinds of dogs the *zağars* or *saksons* were for narrative sources are silent as to their descriptions. The establishment of the dog keepers and trainers greatly ebbed over the centuries, and while the hunting establishment within the janissary corps was closed down after 1730, the post of the *zağarcıbaşı*, *saksoncubaşı* and *turnacıbaşı* remained, albeit only in name.<sup>79</sup> Unfortunately, the tradition did not live to this day and studies about hunting dogs or the keepers and trainers of dogs remain inadequate. Narrative sources do point to trained dogs (*kilab-ı mu‘allem*)<sup>80</sup>, but how they were trained requires further research.

### I.1.c. Cheetahs

In addition to hounds and falcons, cheetahs could also be used in hunting. According to Allsen, a little larger than dogs, the cheetahs had the advantage of flexing their backbones<sup>81</sup> and achieving great speed. Like the raptor birds, the cheetah had to be acclimatized to humans, as well as to horses, on whose back they usually rode. Quite similar to the method of acclimatizing the falcon to its keeper by depriving it of food and sleep, the cheetah is also slowly acclimatized in this manner. It is then taught to

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<sup>78</sup>TPML, R. 1280, fol. 78

“Tazılar kaçanı kovmada pehlivan idi. Şaşonlar ahuya şöyle şunar tığ-ı dendânın Bir vechile şunar idi ki üstühanları bir kezden şunar idi. Şöyle şunarları nağcine, her biri dönmüşdi bir şîre.”

<sup>79</sup>Özbay Güven, *Türklerde Spor Kültürü*, 178.

<sup>80</sup>Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü't Tevârîh*, Vol. II, 181.

Also see Selânikî, *Tarih-i Selânikî*, Vol. II, 612.

“Ve yeniçeri sekbânları ki etek gösterürler mehîb samsunlar ve zağar ve mu‘allem tazılar yederlerdi.”

<sup>81</sup> Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*, 74.

ride a horse by using food to urge the cheetah to leap onto heights that are slowly increased to the height of a horse. After these steps, to ‘teach’ the cheetah to hunt, or to ‘reawaken’ its instincts, an animal is killed and the cheetah is allowed to lap up the blood.<sup>82</sup> While there are pictorial depictions of the cheetah on hunts (fig. 13), sitting in front of the rider on a horse, as opposed to the European practice sitting behind the rider (figs. 14), there is very little about the training of cheetahs, and almost no Ottoman depictions of the cheetah in the hunt itself. One *fetva* by Ebussuud Efendi, the *şeyhülislam* of Süleyman the Magnificent suggests that cheetahs were in fact used. It is asked whether it is lawful if a cheetah (confused as *pars*<sup>83</sup>) crouches down and waits and then captures the prey. The answer is yes, and that it is in the nature of the cheetah to do so, in fact pointing out an observation as to the hunting behaviour of cheetahs.<sup>84</sup>

From the nonpareil, brocaded saddles<sup>85</sup> to silk tents that even the architect Sinimmar<sup>86</sup> could not make, and painters could not portray,<sup>87</sup> with the retinue of the sultan, with bells and drums rolling, with all the hunting dogs and falcons and hawks, the royal hunt was a remarkable sight.<sup>88</sup> The sheer size and pomp (*mevkib-i haşmet*) of the royal hunt also captured the attention of Julien Bordier, a French traveler who stayed in Ottoman

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* 76.

<sup>83</sup> Pars, denoting a leopard, is an unlikely animal partner to be used in the hunt. Allsen points out that, among the felines, only two species have been successfully trained by humans, the cheetah and the caracal. See Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*, 73.

Here, visual sources do not help clear the confusion. Fig. 14 shows a detail from the Journey of the Magi, a cheetah with circular spots. Fig. 13 also shows a similar animal, a cheetah with spots. On the other hand, Fig. 12 shows Murad I striking yet again a similar animal with spots, also denoted here as a leopard, ‘pars.’ Whether the artist is not familiar with the differences with the spotted cheetah and the striped leopard, or whether leopards indeed could have been used in the hunt remains unclear. However, Allsen’s argument, as well as note of caution with regards to the possible confusion of names, seems plausible, that the animals used in the hunt were cheetahs and not leopards.

<sup>84</sup> In Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuûd Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı*, (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983), 190. Henceforth, Düzdağ, *Ebussuud*.

“Mes’ele: Zeyd, parsı besmele ile salıp, pars şikâra yolda sinip ba’dehu alıp cerhile öldürse şer’an helâl olur mu? Elcevap: Olur, sinip andan almak parsın şanıdır.”

<sup>85</sup> Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü’l Tevârih*, Vol. I, 141.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> It must also have made an impression on foreigners like Johannes Löwenklau or Claes Râlab who portrayed such processions. See Artan, *Treatise on Hunting*, 324.

Also see Karin Adahl, *Alay-ı Hümayun: İsveç Elçisi Râlab’ın İstanbul Ziyareti ve Resimleri, 1657-1658*, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), and Alberto Arbasino, *I Turchi: Codex Vindobonensis 8626*, 1971, and Rudolf H. W. Stichel, “Ein Nachtrag zum Porträtbuch des Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf. Bildnisse Orientalischer Herrscher und Würdenträger in Cod. Vindob. 8615”. *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*. Band 1/1999, S. 189–207.

lands from 1604 to 1612, “in the retinue of Jean de Gontaut-Biron, baron de Salignac, French ambassador at the Sublime Porte,”<sup>89</sup> and who observed and noted the various hunting expeditions of Sultan Ahmed I, especially in the vicinity of Istanbul, and particularly Kağıthane. Most hunting expeditions proceeded with great pomp, with *acemioğlans* (Janissary novices) clearing the way before the sultan.<sup>90</sup> The sultan would be accompanied with his closest confidants, the ritual of the royal hunt and its expression of power feeding on the idea of exclusivity. The sultan might be accompanied by his viziers or princes, or at times, by foreign ambassadors, as is the case with the squire Julien Bordier, or Tomma Contarini and Piero Zen, Venetian ambassadors, who had audience with Sultan Süleyman in the August of 1528 in Beykoz, where he was busy hunting.<sup>91</sup> Also accompanying the sultan would be his *doğancıs* (falconers), as well as the *zağarcıbaşı*, *samsoncu* or *seksoncus*, who would aid him in the hunt. In addition to these, the sultan “was always escorted by the *mirahor* (the esquire master) with two relay horses, followed by the *kapıcıbaşı* (head gate keeper), *ağabaşı* (the chief officer of the Janissary corps), the *müteferrikas* and by some eunuchs and some *içoğlans* (a devşirme boy, selected as a page and receiving an education in the Palace) from the seraglio.”<sup>92</sup> In effect, the royal hunt was one means of a portrayal of royal pomp.

## I.2. The Place

The Ottoman hunting establishment was an extensive organization, with its fair share of the ceremonial. It required the capturing, training and upkeep of hunting animals like falcons, hawks and dogs, the preparation and preservation of hunting grounds, as well as the employment of the people involved in such affairs. From the people involved in the hunt, to the animals hunted, where they were hunted, from the images of royal hunts to

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<sup>89</sup>Elisabetta Borromeo, “The Ottomans and Hunting According to Julien Bordier’s Travelog (1604-1612)” 6.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> Sanuto, *I Diarii di Marino Sanudo*, (Bologna: Forni Editore, 1969), V. 48, 379.

<sup>92</sup> Borromeo, *The Ottomans and Hunting*, 6.

their descriptions in narrative sources, the Ottoman royal hunt presents a multifarious picture of sultanic power and pomp.

The drama of the royal hunt played on the balance between accessibility and visibility, and exclusion, on the balance between wilderness and preserved nature. Richard Almond, in his study *Medieval Hunting*, points out that “the parameters of hunting are so wide that depending upon the scale and method, it could have occurred just about anywhere, ranging from woodland, through heath and waste to pond, field and orchard.”<sup>93</sup> Yet how these areas are chosen and prepared, how big the area is, how many or what types of animals are hunted, all factor into a discourse of the royal hunt as practiced by different sultans, and the representation of different ideas of royal power.

The geography of the Ottoman royal hunt begins where Thomas Allsen leaves his analysis. It may be seen as part of a Near Eastern geography extending to the Balkans and bordering Central Europe. Depending on the type of the hunt, whether it is a large-scale battue, or falconry or shooting at animals, the royal hunt could take place in wide, forested plains, or royal gardens. From the privacy and exclusivity involved in hunting in royal gardens to the accessibility and pomp of hunting in hunting grounds, different levels of portrayal of power were employed.

### **I.2.a. Royal Gardens**

Nurhan Atasoy, in her study on Ottoman royal gardens, points out that while the Ottoman gardens had a similar aim as other Islamic states in forging a paradise garden, the Ottoman royal gardens were very different from those in Isfahan or Agra.<sup>94</sup> In terms of geography, and in terms of approach, Ottoman gardens were quite different from those of its neighbours. Practicality and geography were important matters in the

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<sup>93</sup>Richard Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2003), 4. Henceforth Almond, *Medieval Hunting*.

<sup>94</sup> Nurhan Atasoy, *Hasbahçe: Osmanlı Kültüründe Bahçe ve Çiçek*, (İstanbul: Koç Kültür Sanat Tanıtım, 2002), 21. Henceforth Atasoy, *Hasbahçe*.

construction of royal gardens in the Ottoman empire. Rather than the formalistic gardens of Iran and Mughal India,<sup>95</sup> the Ottomans made use of the natural terrain and topography and built gardens around natural rivers. Atasoy also points out that the Ottomans were also partly influenced by Byzantine garden culture that was less formalistic.<sup>96</sup>

Building royal gardens in the Ottoman empire was an important endeavour and Atasoy points out that several gardens during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent were planned by the famous architect Sinan.<sup>97</sup> One miniature in the second volume of the *Hünernâme* depicts Süleyman the Magnificent, seated on a throne in the royal garden in Üsküdar (fig. 15).

Falconry in particular, as a favourite courtly pastime, took place mainly in royal gardens. One miniature from the *Nusretnâme* of 1584 (TPML, H.1365) (fig.16) shows Süleyman the Magnificent seated on a portable throne in a garden watching *bostancı*s and dwarfs train a falcon. Behind him are his *silahdar*, carrying his weapons, and *ibrikdar*, carrying his flask. The scene is set on a gold background, bluish hills and light green grassy ground. Cypressess and flower-trees and another leafy tree provide the sultan shade. Here leisurely ‘*temaşa*’ (contemplation, observation)<sup>98</sup> mingles with ‘sport.’

It is not only falconry that may take place in royal gardens, but archery, or rather, shooting animals kept in gardens. One double-folio image (fig. 17) from the second

<sup>95</sup>See Ebba Koch, “My Garden is Hindustan: The Mughal Padshah’s Realization of a Political Metaphor” in *Middle East Garden Traditions: Unity and Diversity*, Ed. Michael Conan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research and Library Collection, 2007): 159-175.

<sup>96</sup>Atasoy, *Hasbahçe*, 21.

<sup>97</sup>*Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>98</sup>The idea of pleasure and the hunt go hand in hand. While the ruler may enjoy the dangers and excitement of the battue or the hunt in royal gardens, most hunting expeditions were also about watching and observing the animals, especially in royal gardens where the animals were kept in a sort of menagerie. The hunt also involved picnicking (*yimeklik*) or larger feasts, and music.

Celalzâde writes for example, that Süleyman wanted to clear his mind and go hunting in Beykoz and then in Yalova in 1533. The hunt was accompanied afterwards with music and feasting (*gölveş safa-bahş ateşler yakub [...] şanburlar ‘udlar safa-ağar dîlnüvâz sazlar çaldurub nev‘ nev‘ serdarlarile öyle hoş dilu mesrur oldılar*), Celalzâde, *Tabakât*, 205a.



volume of the *Hünernāme* depicts Süleyman the Magnificent shooting arrows in the royal gardens of the Old Palace.<sup>99</sup> The sultan has just shot an arrow at a deer. Watching him are one of his *şehzādes*, a dwarf, his *silahdar* and *ibrikdar*, several *bostancı*s with muskets, and one carrying a stool, perhaps for the sultan or his prince should they want to sit. On the next folio one can see the deer collapse, with an arrow on its forehead and blood gushing from the wound. There are others, behind a tall, red fence, including a doe. The animals are within the garden, in an enclosed area, perhaps a menagerie in fact.<sup>100</sup> The privacy of the royal garden and the intimate surrounding of the sultan point to a limited access and limited audience.

Similarly, another double-folio image (fig. 18) from the *Hünernāme* shows Süleyman, this time seated, having just shot his arrow. Behind him are, again, his *silahdar* and *ibrikdar*, two *şehzādes*, and a *bostancı* with a musket, all watching the sultan show off his prowess in hitting with one arrow three boars, which are depicted on the next folio. This double-folio image illustrates an account by the gate keeper, Yakup Ağa, as told by Lokman. According to Yakup Ağa, the sultan decided to rest in Filibe on the way to the Hungarian campaign. There, the two princes, Mehmet and Selim, were discussing the hunting prowess of Rustam and Bahram Gur, and how Rustam's arrow got lodged in a tree and how Bahram Gur killed onagers. Hearing this, the sultan asked for three boars to be brought and killed all three with one arrow, which then also struck a tree.<sup>101</sup> Three

<sup>99</sup> See *ibid.*, 229.

<sup>100</sup> While the royal gardens are not exactly like game reserves, that different animals were kept in these gardens can be observed.

<sup>101</sup> Zekeriya Eyüboğlu, *Hünernāme*, 29-171-172.

“İki gevher-i t̄ac ü taht-ı mehî/İki v̄ariş-i mülk-i şāhen-şehî/İki gonçe’-i bāğ-ı ‘aşl ü neseb/İki m̄ive’-, şāh-i ‘akl ü edeb/İki aḡter-i devlet-i kām̄yāb/Biri m̄āh-ı t̄ābān biri āfitāb Biri şehzāde-i merḡūm مغورکه erşed emced Sulṡān Meḡemmed الجنته متواضعا بئرا هو جمل ḡazretleri ol serāy-ı se‘ādet-sezā-yı meserret-efzāde bir ellerinde ok ve bir ellerinde yapad şāh-ı ḡit̄i-kūşā ḡazretlerinūn şeref-i şoḡbet ve devlet-i muşāḡabetleri ile müşerref olub ḡāhī zikr-i ‘adl ü dād ve ḡāhī selāṡīn-i hūnerperverūn sözlerini yād [55a] iderlerdi. Kimi Tehemten’iñ t̄iri dıraḡta ḡüzār itdūḡi ḡālī ḡikāyet ve kimi Behrām-i ḡūr’iñ her ḡūrī bir okla şikār eyledūḡini rivāyet kılurdi. Tā kim iki şehzāde’-i bī-nāzīrūn mūnāza’ a-i dil-pezirleri buna mūncerr oldı ki ‘Eyā bu rüzḡārda bir hūnermend-i nām̄dār ola mı ki oku dıraḡta kār ve peykānī cānverden ḡüzār ide?’ Pḡdişāh-ı derbānān-i Sikender-rütbet üç re’s tenāver kara cānver iḡzār idüb biri birinūn şafında kaṡār eylediler. Pes bir kemān-ı āḡū-üstūḡ ān-i kazā-kabzā’-i kader-ḡamle’i zer-endūz-i zer-detūz-i pūlādī ki ebrū-yi ḡūbā gibi dil-rubā ve m̄āh-i āsūmān gibi engūşt-nūmā idi eline alup bir nāvek-i ‘akab-reftār-i la’l-sūfār ‘akīk-minkār-i simurg-şehper-i ef‘ā-peykeri ki müḡḡān-i būḡtān gibi ḡūnr̄iz ve ḡamze’-i dilberān gibi fitne-engīzdi yayūñ zihine bend ve kemānuñ kabzāsına peyvend kılub [şi‘r]

*bostancis* stading behind a red fence gaze at the dead boars with amazement. The scene is set in the royal garden in Filibe. The text of the *Hünernāme* here makes a direct reference to the heroes of the *Shahnāma*, as the two princes discuss the hunting prowess of the two famous hunter and warrior heroes of the Persian epic. To surpass them, and to portray his hunting and archery skills, Süleyman, in this story and in the image that illustrates it, shows off his prowess to his sons. This is again a more intimate setting, in the privacy of the garden, but with the reference to the *Shahnāma*, the text and image provide a strong example of the power and might of the sultan.

For shorter, quicker hunts, the royal garden in Filibe was preferred instead of the wide plains of Uzuncaova in its vicinity. The sultan is portrayed before the *saray* of Filibe, a porticoed structure with an open balcony. The red fence and the river on the lower part of the image bind the two folios together. Like the royal garden in the Old Palace with the red fence, the garden in Filibe has a red fence, beyond which are in all likelihood different animals for the sultan to gaze upon or to hunt. Here, he shows off his prowess to his *şehzādes*, perhaps also teaching them the necessary skills. The arrow he has sent off has pierced through all three boars and lodged into the tree. Perhaps in addition to showing off martial skills, the royal gardens also provided the sultrans who were less enthusiasts of the hunt the privacy to fulfill their ‘regnal duty’ and ‘hunt’ or strike down animals brought before them; still a portrayal of power, but perhaps a different kind of power. One miniature (fig. 19) from the *Talikizāde Shahnama* from the end of the 16th century depicts Bayezid II hunting under a canopy in the royal garden in Üsküdar.<sup>102</sup> As opposed to the rather more intimate atmosphere of Süleyman’s feats in the garden in

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Äanasın burc-ı kavsa girdi hürşid/Ki bārān oldu tır ü berg-i peykān/Bir ay oldu sipihr-i salṭanatda/İki şekl-i hilāl içinde nihān/‘Utarid öpdi peykānıñ didi oḡ/Felek yayına itdi Şevr’i kurbān/Kazā aḡsente didi hem kadrinde/O dem kim şastını būs itdi peykān

[55b-56a minyatür]

Sulṭan Süleymān Ḥān Filibe Sarayı’nda bir ok ile üç kara cānveri urup demreni karşı ağaca saplandıḡıdır.

[56b]

Pes kûşe’-i kemānı gûşa varınca ṭoldurup ḥadeng-i elmās-nihādî ile küşād virdi ki ol oḡ üç cānverden āzād-güzār idüp bir dıraḡt-ı bîḡ-i naḡta kızıl tûyisine varınca kār eyledi ki meclisde olan ḥāzîrān cümle barmakların ısırup ḥayrān kaldılar.”

Also see Serpil Bağcı, “Visualizing Power: Portrayals of the Sultans in Illustrated Histories of the Ottoman Dynasty” *Islamic Art* IV, 2009: 113-127.

<sup>102</sup>See Artan, *Treatise on Hunting*, 324.

Filibe, Bayezid, standing up from his throne, hits a bull in the head with a mace that has the face of a bull on its end. A large group of attendants watch in amazement, with the typical gesture of one finger brought to their lips.

### **I.2.b. Hunting parks**

In the vicinity of Filibe, Uzuncaova, is one of the favourite hunting grounds of the sultans, especially of Süleyman the Magnificent. Topçular Katibi writes of Uzuncaova that it is a pass through a mountainous pastureland.<sup>103</sup> The geography of Uzuncaova, as well as its plentiful game, made it among the favourite hunting grounds, and after the siege of Belgrade, Süleyman the Magnificent organized a battue here. For hawking and falconry in particular, royal gardens were suitable. While the privacy of the royal gardens allowed the less-able ruler to ‘hunt’ without being seen, the fact that he could not be seen was also a symbol of sovereignty. Thus when Süleyman the Magnificent has himself portrayed on a double-folio killing with one arrow three boars, in front of his *şehzādes*, it is meant to portray his might and his sovereignty, albeit to again a close retinue. But a more conspicuous, loud and mighty show of sovereignty was also the procession for a battue, where the sultan rode through the cities and villages to the organized hunting grounds. The battue was one way of portraying that power and sovereignty as not only the close retinue would witness the procession but the subjects, albeit, again in a limited manner. It required organization and planning and a successful battue was a sign of the ruler’s ability to govern.

Mustafa Sāfi recounts one of the hunting expeditions of Ahmed I in the year 1612 when the Sultan rode on the river Tunca, in the vicinity of Edirne, a place well liked by the Ottoman sultans for its environment suitable for hunting,<sup>104</sup> and hunted from time to

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<sup>103</sup> Topçular Katibi Abdülkadir Efendi Tarihi, 17.

“Uzunca[-ova] yaylak ve sahra derler. Kûhistan ü balkan ve boğazdır.”

<sup>104</sup> See Şenol Çelik, “Osmanlı Padişahlarının Av Geleneginde Edirne’nin Yeri ve Edirne Kazasındaki Av Alanları (Hassa Şikâr-gâhı),” *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 4-8 Ekim 1999: Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler* (Ankara, 2002): 1888. Henceforth Çelik, *Av Geleneginde Edirne’nin Yeri*. Also see Kemal Paşa-zāde, *Tevārîh-i* 11.

time. It was among one of these sojourns that the Sultan wished to conduct a battue. He ordered the chief *bostancı* (attendant of the royal gardens) to prepare for the battue, and to first, inspect the hunting grounds for animals to have a fruitful hunt, then, with the other *bostancıs* and villagers who were well versed in the preparation of such hunting plains, to round up the plains to form a vast enclosure, with a circumference of several days' journey, and to gather the animals within the enclosure for the viewing pleasure of the Sultan,<sup>105</sup> after which the Sultan would hunt them.

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<sup>105</sup>Mustafa Sâfi, Vol. II, 166.

“...hâtır-ı ‘âtır-ı merzıyyetü’l-havâtır-ı şâhî ve zamîr-i münîr-i kâşifü’z-zamâir-i pâdişâhî sürgün-şikârını ârzû ve meyl-i şayd-i hargûş ve rûbâh u âhû eylemegin, bostancı bâşı kullarına bu vechile emr-i ‘âlî-ğadr şadır oldu ki, maḥmiye-i Edrene havâlisinde olan şikargâhlardan şaydı çok ve vuḥûş-ı behâiminiñ ḥadd ü pâyânı yok bir maḥalli teḥarri itdikden soñra ḥidmetinde olan bostancılar ve kadîm-i eyyâm ve ezmân-ı selâṭîn-i ‘ızâmdan bu meḳûle şikârlarda istiḥdâm ve bunun emşâli kârlarda kıyâm üzre olıgelen ri‘âyâdan bir niçe kırye ehâlîsi ile üç gün muḳaddem varub, eṭrâf ü cevânibinden bir kaç günlük mesâfei iḥâṭa vü zabṭ ve medâḥil ü meḥâricini sedd ü rabṭ, ba‘dehû ol kadar mesâfe içinde âremîde olan vuḥûş ü cânverânı manẓar-ı pâdişâhî ve maḥall-i nazâr-ı şehinşâhî olacaḳ yere sevḳ târîḳı ile remîde idüb, yevm-i mev‘ûd ve mev‘id-i ma‘hûde ḥâzır ve yine işâret-i ‘aliyye-i sulṭâniyyeye müterakḳib ü nâzır ola.”

At another time, hunting in the vicinity of Beykoz,<sup>106</sup> near the shrine of *Ali Bahadır*, the sultan ordered the *bostancıbaşı* and the villagers, as was the custom, (*kanun-ı kadim üzre*), to round up the area and gather in that hilly ground, hares, foxes, hyacinth-like gazelles, wolves, bears and black-faced boars.<sup>107</sup>

Ârifi's 1558 *Süleymannâme* also presents a similar practice of readying the hunting grounds before the hunt begins. The text, with its parallels to Firdowsi's *Shahnâmâ*, provides a rather vague and generic idea about the structure of the hunt, compared to the more detailed account of Mustafa Sâfi. Still, references to the gathering of animals within an enclosure in a wider hunting plain are given, where Sultan Süleyman, with the news of the deaths of his *şehzâdes* Mahmud and Murad<sup>108</sup> quelling the success of the

<sup>106</sup>Seyyid Lokman, in the second volume of the *Hünernâme*, gives a clearer idea of the hunting park in Beykoz, which, he writes, is shaped like the Arabic letter ج with three sides closed and one side open, which would be closed after more animals had been gathered in when the sultan wished to hunt.

H. 1524, fol. 72a.

"Ve serây-ı Beykoz'da olan şaydgâhları şöyle vâki' olmuş ki bir mil mikdârı yol-ı pîşeden hîşâr ve çeper eyleyüp ve bir cânibden iki yüz zirâ' mikdârı yol koyup hayvânât cengel-i seyrânda ol iki yüz zirâ' mikdârı yol içerü varup öz çerâlarına meşgûl olup gâfil-i dâyre-i şayyâddan düşerler. Ve bu kân-i peygâr ki dâyre-i nûn-ı kân gibi bir cânibi açıkdur mekşûf cânibine sipâh cem' olup ve râh-i hayvânât bağlayup ol nokta'-i merkez-i 'adâlet-miyâne-i kâne bir şuffe-i bâ-şafâ üzre karâr eyleyüp etrâfdan cümle şikârı hîdmetlerine güzâr eyleyende her bir şayd zahm-ı tîr ve şemşîr ve tüfek ile bir nev' çalınup avlanır."

In Zekeriya Eyüboğlu, *Hünernâme*, 192.

Towards the end of the 17th century, Evliya Çelebi too paints a plentiful picture of Beykoz, especially in terms of its fish population, particularly, the sword fish, which is "served well with vinegar and garlic sauce."

Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, Vol. I, 198.

"...Ve iskelesi öninde deryâ içre evşâf-ı dalyân-ı kılıçbalığı, deryâda beş altı gemi direklerin birbirlerine bağlayup deryâya dikmişlerdir. Tâ zirve-i a' lāsından bir âdem nîgeh-bânlık idüb direk depesindeki kadehinde durur. Karadeniz talaftumından rehâ bulan kılıç balığı bu limana girüp şinaverlik iderken gemi direği depesindeki âdem elindeki taş kılıç balıklarının ardındaki taraf-ı deryâya atup ağcırıyı tûlûmbuhâ kolı üzre taş deryâya tûm diyüp düşünce fakîr balıklar limana doğru selâmetdir diyü firâr iderken deryâ etrâfın ihâta itmiş ağların ağzından içeri girince dîdebân herîf direk başından 'ala' diyü feryâd idüp cümle şayyâdlar balık şebekesiniñ ağzın sed idüp ba' dehu içerde kalan kılıç balıklarına kayıklar ile varup harbe ve tokmaqlar ile urup şayd iderler. Ammâ kılıç taşıdığı silâhına değmez bir tenbel balıktır bir kulaç mikdârı tavîl burnında tîg-ı dâhîhâkten nişân berir kılıcı ağ deliğine girüp aslâ harekete kâdir olamaz lâkin eti şarımsaklı ve sirkeli tereţor ile tabh olunsa gâyet ni' met-i nefisedir."

This type of hunting described by Evliya is of course not a royal hunt, but fishing. The question of whether the fish caught here was cooked for those passing by remains. Hunting and picnicking was also possible. Mustafa Sâfi mentions a short hunt coupled with picnicking (yimeklik).

"Ol şehin-şâh-ı cihân, ol pâdişâh-ı bahr ü berr Hâzret-i Sultâ Aḥmed Hân-ı pür-fazl ü hünere ḥâzretleri bir gün kaşd-ı şikâr ve 'azm-i geşt ü güzâr ile bir raḥş-ı şafâ-baḥşe süvâr ve bir kûhe-i bedî' u'n-nakş üzre üstüvâr olub 'âmir iştlâhınca yimeklik diyü tâ' bir olınan hareket vechi üzre..." Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü't Tevârîh*, Vol. I, 141.

<sup>107</sup> Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü't Tevârîh*, Vol. I, 154.

<sup>108</sup> Esin Atıl, *Süleymannâme: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent*, 115.

campaign of Belgrade, hunted in the plains of Uzuncaabad (Uzuncaova), on the way back to Istanbul. The plains of Filibe were decked with many tents, and the Sultan, wishing to hunt, gathered his men and ordered them to gather wild boars, harts, wild stags, and lions, whose number Ārifī, in all likelihood in a hyperbole, gives as five-hundred thousand. Ārifī continues, that the world seemed smaller to the lions and tigers, in a similar manner the eyes of the animals within the circle got smaller.<sup>109</sup> In describing the hunting prowess of Sultan Süleyman, Ārifī writes, “the Sultan of repute,” one morning ordered his *mîr-i şikār* (master of the hunt) to herd the animals grazing by the hill and mountain, and to build a fence (*o sürünün etrafına hisar çeksın*) around them from tree branches.

An image of the sultan on his black horse, cutting a mountain goat in half with his sword illustrates Ārifī’s text (fig. 20). As the text of the *Süleymannāme* mimicks the *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings) of Firdowsi, so do the miniatures mimick Persianate compositions, but at the same time Ottomanizing them.<sup>110</sup> The sultan, at the very centre of the composition, set by the blue hill against a golden background, is surrounded by his retinue, that in fact suggests a circular enclosure. Like Persian miniatures from this period, the hill is a generic setting and does not give much idea about the geography. Gazelles and leopards run around, again repeating the circular formation of the sultan’s retinue. A pair of onagers run away, one of them has already been wounded. In a Shirazi *Shāhnāma* from 1561/2 (fig. 21), Rustam, a hero from the *Shāhnāma*, is portrayed in a similar hunting scene. He is shown hunting with Iranians in Afrasiyab’s hunting preserve. Again, set on a golden background and a hill, decked with multi-coloured flowers, Rustem has just shot a gazelle with his arrow. Leopards attack a mounted Iranian and another who is not as lucky as to be mounted. Others raise their swords to hunt down lions, onages, antelopes, many of the same animals portrayed in the *Süleymannāme*. Behind the hill men, looking distinctively Safavid, observe, again

<sup>109</sup> H. 1517, fol. 117a

<sup>110</sup> See Serpil Bağcı, “From Translated Word to Translated Image: The Illustrated *Sehname-i Turki* Copies” *Muqarnas* 17, 2000: 162-176. Henceforth, Bağcı, *Translated Word*.

hinting at the enclosure of the hunting ground, as well as drawing the attention to the centre of the image.

While Ottoman or Safavid images from this period do not portray the geography accurately, nor the numbers involved, the royal hunt required prior preparation by the masters of the hunt to find and ready the appropriate hunting ground, herd animals within an enclosure, prepare the steeds and animals for the hunt, and notify the villagers of the upcoming hunt, lest “timid women and those who hold their persons dear” be afraid.<sup>111</sup> Mustafa Sâfi mentions one case where a hunt was not previously notified, and some of the hunting company were left without horses. Luckily the hunting ground was not so far and those without horses could walk alongside the sultan.<sup>112</sup>

The royal hunt as a preparation for battle made use of the wilderness, of open nature. Still, it was in part, a ‘managed’<sup>113</sup> nature. The vast plains were enclosed, mostly by natural means, as Ārifî suggests, so that an abundant, and also, relatively safe hunt could be conducted. It also meant that in hunts that take a longer period of time, the animals would be kept within the enclosures, ready to be chased the next day.<sup>114</sup> Compared to the *par force* hunts through forests in western Europe in the high and late middle ages,<sup>115</sup>

<sup>111</sup>Tülay Artan, “A Book of Kings Produced and Presented as a Treatise on Hunting” *Muqarnas* 25, 2008: 299-330, 309. Henceforth, Artan, *Treatise on Hunting*.

<sup>112</sup>Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü’l-Tevârih*, Vol. I, 142.

“...ol havâlîde bir şikâr var diyü haber virilmegin ol cânibe müsâre’ at buyurdukları sebebden huddâm-ı bâ-ihtirâma at yetişmeyüb, çün maḥall-i mezbûr çendân dūr degil idi, rikâb-ı saltanat-iyâblarında piyâde devân oldılar.”

<sup>113</sup>Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*, 16.

<sup>114</sup>See Mustafa Sâfi, Vol. I, 154.

“...maḥall-i şikârı bağladub, cümle cihâtından bir niçe fersaḥ yirleri dâiren mâ dâr zabt ü ihâṭa itdürüp, ol mîşe zârda mesken ve ol kûhsârda maḥall ü seken ittihâz iden ḥar-gûş u rûbâh ve âhû-yu sünbül-giyâh ve gürg ü hırs ü ḥûk-i rûy-siyâhî hâ vü hû ve na’ re-i yâhû ile sürüb ve toḳât nâmında olub, kimi qadîm kimi ḥâdiş olan ḥazîreye düşürüb, ol maḥşer-i vuḥûşda mânend-i melâḥ u mûr u mûş hareket ü ıztırâb ve bir maḥlaş ümîdi ile her biri bir cânibe kendüi per-tâb iderler. Lgkin eṭrâf mazbut ve maḥrec ü maḥlaşları her cânibden merbûṭ olmağın ḥurûca imkân bi-vechin mâ taḥlîş-ı mühce ve cân müyesser olmamağın ol gün ve ol gice ol maḥall-i tengi meḳîl ü mebît ve ḳulûb-ı vahşet-âhengi ne ḥâl ise anda teşbît iderler. Ve çün irtesi ki, yevm-i mev’ ûd ve vaḳt-i ma’ hûddur, pâdişâh-ı ḥaşmet-penâh huddâm ü ağâyân ve nedîmân-ı ihlâş destgâh ile ‘ale’s-seher se’ âdet ü iḳbâli hem rikâb ve ‘izzet ü iclâli istiṣḥâb idüb ve şaydgâh-ı ma’ hûdi teşrîf ve ol maḥall-i mev’ ûdi cemâl-i bâ-kemâli ile telṭîf idüb, şems-i cihân-tâb ve bedr-i temâm-ı bî-niḳâb gibi şa’ şa’ a-i envâr-ı dîdâr-ı se’ âdet-âşârı ile tenvîr-i dâr u diyâr iderler....”

<sup>115</sup>Rupert Isaacson, *The Wild Host: The History and Meaning of the Hunt*, (New York: The Derrydale Press, 2001): 45.

the Ottoman hunts were relatively more maintained and managed, albeit using nature itself to enclose a vast hunting ground.

### I.2.c. Ottoman hunting grounds amongst neighbouring models

In the lack of 16th century Ottoman descriptions of royal hunting parks and lodges, we may turn to an account by Mulla Jalal who writes of one of Shah Abbas' hunts, in Lanjān, where he encountered a land

full of water and water birds. There he ordered houses with loggias (*ayvāns*) to be built and on a side of the water they created a small hut made of bamboo where he could hide and wait for the birds. The water piece was made into a rectangular pond with a bridge, in such a manner that when removed no one could enter. Lilies, pot marigolds, violets and wild carnations were planted on the banks of the pond. Oat was sown all around so that the place was always green. Plane trees surrounded by a moat bordered with bamboo prevented animals from entering and rendered the whole place into a landscape garden.<sup>116</sup>

Alemi further points out that “the opposition between artifice and wild nature does not apply. To the contrary, a garden is a civilized place where wild nature as well as artifice can be enjoyed.”<sup>117</sup>

The founder of the Mughal dynasty, Babur, writes in his memoirs, that in an area called *Iki Su Arası*, “in the vicinity of Armian and Noshab in Rabatak Orchin,”<sup>118</sup> there were plenty of animals, where with his retinue, they “set fire to the large forests to trap goat and deer, and made a circle around the small woods to hunt pheasant with falcons and darts.”<sup>119</sup> The practice of enclosing an open ground with wooden fencing can also be observed in an image of Mughal ruler Akbar hunting near Lahore in 1567 (fig.22). The

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While most royal hunts in the high and late middle ages took place in the forests, the king's forests were strictly preserved and poachers were severely punished.

<sup>116</sup>Mahvash Alemi, “Princely Safavid Gardens: Stage for Rituals of Imperial Display and Political Legitimacy” in *Middle East Garden Traditions: Unity and Diversity*. Ed. Michel Conan. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007), 119.

<sup>117</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup>*The Baburnama*, 85.

<sup>119</sup>*Ibid.*



imperial tent is set up in the middle of the enclosure with openings. Within the enclosure are the ruler and his retinue, and in the tent. Outside, leaning on the wooden fence are people watching. Cheetahs run after harts, while those already caught are being skinned, gutted, and hung upside down (fig. 23), for game meat needs to rest to tenderize.

Mughal Emperor Jahangir, in his memoirs, also points to natural enclosures during *qamarga* hunts, or battues. Like the Ottoman sultans, the Mughals had their favourite hunting grounds, that is natural areas in their lands with plentiful game, that when they wished, would be surrounded by natural enclosures, and animals gathered in. These were, in effect, ‘wildernesses’ that were fixed.<sup>120</sup> Jahangir writes,

On the fourth of the month [September 16, 1607] an order was given for Izzat Khan to arrange a *qamarga* on the Arzina hunting plain in Jalalabad. Around three hundred animals were bagged: 35 mountain rams, *quschi* [?], 25; argali sheep, 90; *tughli* [?], 55; white antelope, 95. Since it was midday when we arrived at the hunting ground, and the weather was very hot, many good hunting dogs were ruined. The time for running dogs is either early morning or the end of the day.<sup>121</sup>

Thomas Allsen also points out that “before the rapid population growth of the last two centuries,[...] there were still vast tracts of original stand forests and jungles almost everywhere,”<sup>122</sup> and that “[i]n India during the seventeenth century European travelers were repeatedly struck by the extant of forest and the abundance of game.”<sup>123</sup> These

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<sup>120</sup>Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*, 17.

<sup>121</sup>The *Jahangirnama*, Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India, ed. Wheeler Thackson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999): 86.

Jahangir’s short accounts of his hunting expeditions are quite interesting as he always gives the numbers of animals caught, as well as what kinds of animals, what kinds of animals could be eaten, how they tasted. In this particular example, we also get an idea about the use of hunting dogs, the environment, and the times it is best for hunting dogs to be used.

It is also important to note that similar to Jahangir’s keeping a tab on the numbers of animals bagged, Ottomans also kept records of animals bagged. Hasekis were in charge to keep such records. Mustafa Sâfi also notes that in the battues in 1612 and 1613 over 900 animals were bagged. Allsen points out that one way of figuring out the size of the hunt, the number of people involved and the number of animals hunted, is to look at the size of the hunting grounds. He gives an example from Iskandar Munshi’s account that in 1598 a huge ring of several days’ journey was formed. Mustafa Sâfi had also noted down that the hunt in 1612 was a large hunt and that the area was encircled a diameter of several days’ journey.

Here, Jahangir’s numbers are also not so far off from the Ottoman examples.

<sup>122</sup>Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*, 16.

<sup>123</sup>*Ibid.*, 17.

abundant hunting grounds could be quite close to urban centres, so that the rulers could easily go for hunts. Sometimes, the rulers preferred hunting grounds that were far away and secluded, perhaps for better game, better climate, but mostly “to get away.”<sup>124</sup>

While Ottoman narrative sources do not provide a concrete idea of the geography of the hunting grounds, that local officials were ordered to cut down parts of a hunting preserve at Uzuncaova since the dense forest was harbouring bandits<sup>125</sup> suggests that this preserve was at least dense enough to harbour bandits. Similarly, in Central Europe royal forests were favourite hunting grounds of kings. In the winter of 1546 King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Zygmunt II August conducted a ten-day battue in the Białowieża Forest, a privately owned forest.<sup>126</sup> Like the Ottoman battues, the hunting grounds were prepared a few days in advance; two huntsmen, Wasilek and Grisza were sent ahead.<sup>127</sup> Beaters were collected from the villages to help herd animals within nets made of phloem and hemp.<sup>128</sup> Hunting within natural enclosures seems to be a common practice in Central Europe, the Ottoman Empire, Mamluk Egypt, Mughal India and Safavid Persia, but the specifics, the types of animals hunted, with what animal partners they hunted differ from geography to geography. The *Weisskunig*, the incomplete and rather unreliable autobiography of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I praises him for his innovations in the hunt, for “introducing into his kingdoms the ‘parforce and park hunting’ of stags (the former is a hunt on horseback, chasing with hounds, the latter is a hunt within circumscribed boundaries of thick enclosures).”<sup>129</sup> This suggests that *par force* hunting took place not only in England but also in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire, where geography allowed.

In addition to natural enclosures prepared before a hunt, Thomas Allsen points out that man-made, enclosed hunting parks were also widespread in Eurasia.<sup>130</sup> The practice of enclosing a wide plain with natural resources and enclosing an area, a forest, a plain with

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<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> MD 62/40. I would like to thank Sam White for pointing out this unpublished source.

<sup>126</sup> See Tomasz Samojlik, *Conservation and Hunting: Białowieża Forest in the Time of Kings*, (Mammal Research Institute Polish Academy of Sciences, 2005).

<sup>127</sup> 21.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>129</sup> Silver, *Caesar Ludens*, 177.

<sup>130</sup> For hunting parks in Eurasia over a longer period of time see Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*, 35-51.

permanent walls are two different means of portraying kingly power. Where in the open plains, the ruler is open to view and shows his hunting prowess thereby and is open to encounters with villagers, the very fact of closed hunting grounds, the alteration of nature,<sup>131</sup> and the ‘invisibility’ of the ruler also operates “as a symbol of sovereignty throughout Eurasia.”<sup>132</sup> Perhaps on a less kingly note, the more private hunting grounds also allowed for the more insecure rulers to hunt freely without “having to endure humiliation.”<sup>133</sup> While, for example, Babur and Jahangir also hunted in the naturally enclosed wildernesses, Mughal emperors could also hunt in walled ‘hunting paradises.’<sup>134</sup> This allowed for a certain degree of exclusivity and endowed the ruler with an aura of mystery. Allsen also points out that Charlemagne had a hunting part enclosed with walls.<sup>135</sup> However, in the western European case, and especially in England, the practice of hunting within parks seems to have diminished in the high middle ages, and rulers began to hunt in the royal forests.<sup>136</sup>

The Ottoman sultans up to and including Mehmed IV, with a few exceptions, all dabbled in hunting.<sup>137</sup> Among the more frequented hunting grounds were Kağıthane, Göksu, Haramidere, Beykoz, Tokat, Halkalı, Üsküdar, Davudpaşa, Çatalca, Beşiktaş, and the gardens of Rumeli, İstavroz and Kandilli in Istanbul, and outside Istanbul, Trabzon, Bursa, Çorlu, Istranca mountains, Yanbolu, Filibe, Gümülcine, Ferecik, Dimetoka, Uzuncaova and Edirne.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>131</sup>For the Mughal garden culture and imperial might, see Ebba Koch, “My Garden is Hidustan: The Mughal Padshah’s Realization of a Political Metaphor” in ed. Michel Conan. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007):160-177.

<sup>132</sup>Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*, 46.

<sup>133</sup>See Tülay Artan’s study on the *Tuhfetü’l-mülûk ve’s-selâtin* (TPM, B.408), the author of which points out the lack of observers in hunting grounds.

Artan, *Treatise on Hunting*, 308.

<sup>134</sup>Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*, 39.

<sup>135</sup>*Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>136</sup>Isaacson, *The Wild Host*, 44.

<sup>137</sup>Çelik, *Av Geleneğinde Edirne’nin Yeri*, 1888.

<sup>138</sup>*Ibid.*

Şenol Çelik adds to this list Sarıyer, Karaağaç, Feridun and Ayazağa. Also see Mustafa Sâfi, *Selânikî*, Kemal Paşazâde.

Gardens and hunting plains in the vicinity of Istanbul provided the sultans easy access to quick hunting excursions. Şenol Çelik points out that sultans in the classical period mostly hunted before or after campaigns, or when they were lodging outside of Istanbul, but especially from the second half of the 16th century to the 18th century, sultans hunted in the vicinity of Istanbul, or in Edirne, as they did not take part in campaigns in person as much as did their predecessors, and that hunting excursions in this period were no longer practice for war, but were more a means of pleasure.<sup>139</sup> Where the sultans hunted, whether the hunting grounds were in the vicinity of Istanbul or not, how the hunting grounds looked and how they were prepared, whether they were accessible to the villagers or were in secluded areas provide an idea of the structure of the hunt, as well as the personal preferences of the sultans, their favoured hunting parks, or perhaps a statement of power that in different periods might be expressed differently.

When sultans chose to conduct smaller hunts that lasted a day or two, they would mainly choose from among the hunting grounds and gardens in Istanbul. Ahmed I, one day, went with only a few people (*bende vü hizmet-kâr kısmından bir âzacık kimse ile*) from Üsküdar to Fenerbahçe.<sup>140</sup> Antoine Galland recounts one of the hunts of Mehmed IV. He writes that the sultan, wearing a simple red garment, rode with around ten falconers. He was accompanied by his *mirahor*, and around fifty to sixty *içoğlans*.<sup>141</sup> These hunts were mostly small-scale hunts. Those accompanying the sultan on these small-scale hunts would be given rations, mostly, of bread, cheese and chicken.<sup>142</sup>

Istanbul and its vicinity was not, however, an ideal place for battues. For larger-scale hunts that lasted a longer time, wider plains, with plenty of animals, were favoured. A favourite hunting ground was Edirne. Perhaps Kazasker Vusuli Mehmed Çelebi, writing in the last quarter of the 16th century, best sums up Edirne's appeal, in these lines:

The meadows of Edirne chases away all grief from the hearts

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<sup>139</sup>*Ibid.*, 1891.

<sup>140</sup> Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü't Tevârih*, Vol. I, 38.

<sup>141</sup> Kahraman, *Osmanlı Devletinde Spor*, 204.

<sup>142</sup>*Ibid.*, 205.

Spring turns it into a paradise with its flowers  
It is no marvel that it is a hunting ground for the padishah  
Would the hunt of Edirne be captured elsewhere?  
To show the people the finery and adornment of the city  
God made Tunca hold a mirror to Edirne  
Its breeze is pleasant and lifts the spirits  
The breeze of Edirne blows from the rose-garden of Paradise  
What use, Vusuli, would be your visage blooming like a rose  
For Edirne strives to enamour the nightingale.<sup>143</sup>

An image from the second volume of the *Hünernâme* shows Süleyman the Magnificent after a ‘great’ (‘*azim şikâr eyledüğüdür*’) hunt in Edirne (fig. 24). In a more or less conventional landscape with blue and pink hills and one tree to denote a forested area, the mounted sultan is surrounded by his retinue, archers, and his *silahdar* and *ibrikdar* in tow. Hares and gazelles and wolves have been piled up before the sultan, while four others are still battling with a bear. Seyyid Lokman writes that when Süleyman had come to Edirne, animals had been gathered by the people in three days and three nights. So many animals had been gathered that the ground could not be seen, and that Süleyman rode and hunted in this crowd of animals was a sign that Süleyman was a second Solomon.<sup>144</sup> This scene shows the end of the battue, the pile of bodies (*püşte püşte küşte*)<sup>145</sup> yet in a rather stylized manner.

When a sultan wished to conduct a battue, his wish would be reported to the *şikâr ağaları*, the servants of the inner palace, to the head falconer, the *bostancıbaşı*, and the grand vizier.<sup>146</sup> For the preparation of one of the battues of Sultan Ahmed I in Edirne,

<sup>143</sup>Vusuli Mehmed Çelebi, *Selimnâme*, ed. N.Öztürk, “Kazasker Vusulî Mehmed Çelebi” *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*, 1987, 43-44.

“Def’ ider dilden gumûmı merg-zâr-ı Edrene/ Cennete döndi şükûfeyle bahâr-ı Edrene/Pğdişâha sayd-gâh olsa ta’accüb eylemen/ Gayri yerde ele mi girer şikâr-ı Edrene/ Halka şehrin ziver ü arayışın göstermeğe/İtdi Tunca’yu Hudâ âyine-dâr-ı Edrene/ Dil-güşâ vü rûh-efzadur hevâsı var ise/ Gülşen-i Cennet’den esdi rûzgâr-ı Edrene/ Tab’un açılsa n’ola anda Vusulî gül gibi/ Bülbülü şûrîde kılmakdur çü kâr-ı Edrene” [My translation]

<sup>144</sup> Zekeriya Eyüboğlu, *Hünernâme*, 204.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

“[81a] olındı, ‘asker her cânibden şemşîr-i bî-dirîğ sibâ’ ve hayvânât-ı derendeye koyup ol gün temâm-ı ol şikârîleri kılıçdan geçirüp püşte püşte küşte her tarafda zâhir oldu ve şikârât halka mübâh olup her kimesne maḥzûz ve behremend oldılar ve her diri bir küşte üzerine yükleyüp hûn-ı cigerden şarâb idüb kebâbdan kâm ü murâd buldılar.”

<sup>146</sup>Kahraman, *Osmanlı Devletinde Spor*, 205.

around three-hundred *bostancis* and several thousand of the *reaya* prepared the hunting ground, herding animals within an enclosure.<sup>147</sup> Then the imperial tents would be set up, high on a hill.<sup>148</sup>

Following either the plentiful forests of Istranca to Edirne, or going from Davud Paşa, Büyük Çekmece, Silivri, Çorlu, Kariştiran, Burgaz, Babaeski, Hafsa, or from Davud Paşa, Çatalca, Fener, Saray, Vize, Kırklareli, Hasköy to Edirne, the sultan and his retinue would make way to Edirne, sometimes also hunting along the way.<sup>149</sup>

As a favourite hunting ground of the Ottoman sultans, the hunting grounds of Edirne were also well-protected, and many orders were propagated over time to conserve the animal population in the various hunting grounds. In a similar vein to the Forests Laws of Medieval England, Ottoman hunting grounds were also well protected against usage by everyman. Şenol Çelik points out that the *reaya* living in designated imperial *korus* (woodlands) were forbidden to keep hunting dogs, falcons, or to hunt the animals, use muskets, cut down trees or graze sheep or cattle.<sup>150</sup> Along with passionate hunting came conservation and preservation and hunting grounds as well as the animals were well protected and preserved. Even those sultans who were not necessarily hunting enthusiasts, such as Murad III or Mehmed III, took precautions to preserve game reserves.<sup>151</sup> Çelik also points out that the statutes from the reign of Selim II were renewed during the reign of Ahmed I, as the importance of Edirne as a hunting ground gained importance during the reign of Ahmed I, and despite the legislations, the number of animals were still on the decrease in the hunting grounds.<sup>152</sup>

### I.3. The ritual and practice

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<sup>147</sup> Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü't Tevârih*, Vol.II, 174.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> Kahraman, *Osmanlı Devletinde Spor*, 205.

<sup>150</sup> Çelik, *Av Geleneğinde Edirne'nin Yeri*, 1900.

<sup>151</sup> Artan, *Treatise on Hunting*, 302.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 1901.

Depending on the duration and type of hunt, when the hunting ground and the route to the ground was decided upon, preparations began. After the *bostancı*s are sent to examine the hunting ground and with the help of the villagers, the animals are gathered in a vast enclosed area, and the tents set up, the Ottoman royal hunt began with the *besmele*.<sup>153</sup> One of the *fetvas* of the *şeyhülislam* Ebussuud Efendi also stresses the importance of the *besmele*. When asked, whether it is permissible that a hunting dog sent after the prey with a *besmele* dallied on the way, and then continued to chase after the animal, the reply is, “if such is not his custom, then dalliance makes the *besmele* void.”<sup>154</sup> Another *fetva* of *şeyhülislam* Ebussuud Efendi also points to the practice of uttering the *besmele*, as well as the behaviour of hunting dogs. It is asked whether it is permissible or not to eat the animal that the dog, sent with a *besmele* caught, but partly ate on the spot. The answer is, that it is not, and that a dog that eats the prey is not a trained dog.<sup>155</sup>

In the hunt, the sultan would have the priority. If he was hunting with his princes, the princes would, after the sultan, be allowed to show off their archery skills before their father and their retinue.<sup>156</sup> During the hunt, whoever had caught and brought live or dead animals, would be rewarded.<sup>157</sup>

In addition to the animal aids, the sultans would mostly use arrows or swords to kill their prey, or at times, muskets, maces or lariots could also be used.

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<sup>153</sup> See, Qur'an, Maide:4.

<sup>154</sup> Ebussuud Fetvaları, 962.

“Mes’ele: Zeyd, kelb-i mu’allemini, besmele ile me’kûl-ül-lâhm sayda salıp, yolda bir miktar oyalanıp yâhud sinse ba’dehu varıp öldürse helâl olur mu?

Elcevap: Olmaz, sinmek mu’tâdi değil ise, oyalanmak ile tesmiyenin hükmü sâkıt olur.”

<sup>155</sup> Ebussuud Fetvaları, 963.

“Mes’ele: Zeyd kelbini besmele ile sayda irsâl ettikte, kelb-i mezbûr ahz ü cerh edip öldürdükten sonra ba’zı ekl eylese, bâkî kalanı ekl helâl olur mu?

Elcevap: Olmaz, saydı ekl eden kelp mu’allem olmaz.”

<sup>156</sup> Kahraman, *Osmanlı Devletinde Spor*, 208.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

The return from the hunt was also a ceremonial affair, with the line of retinue making the way back to the palace, after which they would be welcomed with a feast.<sup>158</sup>

#### I.4. The times

It is rather difficult to determine when the Ottoman sultans hunted. They seem to have followed the Kuranic advice of not hunting during the period of pilgrimage.<sup>159</sup> As this is based on the lunar calendar, a particular season specifically reserved for hunting is not the case with the Ottomans, although the majority of the hunts, it seems, took place in the winter. The cold winters might have made the preservation of game easier. It was also when the animals began to fatten and grow their fur, making the catch more worthwhile. Depending on where they hunted and what kind of animal they hunted, they would, in all likelihood, have followed their mating cycles, so as to avoid hunting during the times when the female would be pregnant or had recently given birth. The *Boke of St. Albans* of late 15th century, containing essays on hawking, heraldry and hunting, writes with regards to the hunting season of harts, that “Tyme of grece begynnyth at mydsomer day/ And tyll holi Roode day lastyth as I you say.”<sup>160</sup> The ‘seasons’ of the animals thus were also carefully observed and noted down in various western European hunting books. I have not encountered a similar observation in my sources, but it is probable that they Ottomans too observed and followed the mating seasons of animals so as to conserve the game population. While pictorial sources of Ottoman royal hunts do not give much of an idea about in what kind of geography or weather or time the hunt took place, textual sources mostly denote when the hunt took place.

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<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 210.

<sup>159</sup> Sa‘di b. Abd ul Mu’tal in his text, for example, quotes a Koranic passage (“iza haleltum fastadu”, Maide 2). R. 1277, fol. 172 b

<sup>160</sup> Quoted in Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk*, 33.



Mustafa Sâfi notes one particularly cold winter in 1611 when Sultan Ahmed I was hunting in Davud Paşa garden. It was so cold that one did not dare stick his head out the door, but Mustafa Sâfi writes that despite the cold, the sultan did not give up the hunt.<sup>161</sup> Ahmed I was an avid hunter and while it might have been very cold that particular winter, there is the likelihood that Mustafa Sâfi is exaggerating the coldness of the winter to suggest how devoted a hunter Ahmed I was. It seems that, in the case of Ahmed I, when to go on a hunt was based on a personal whim than anything else, for the two volumes of Mustafa Sâfi's text is dotted with instances of the sultan's wish to go on hunts; and the times of these hunts vary from winter to spring to autumn, but rarely, in the summer.<sup>162</sup>

A role model for Ahmed I is Süleyman the Magnificent, most certainly in terms of hunting, as well as other aspects. Süleyman the Magnificent too was an avid hunter. Mustafa Sâfi writes that on the hunting ground in Kırdağ, where many animals had been gathered for a battue in 1612, the gazelles and foxes and hares and wolves and jackals had not heard or seen the wrath of hunters since the days of Süleyman the Magnificent.<sup>163</sup>

Bostan, Nasuh, and Ârifî all note Süleyman's hunting expedition on the way back from the campaign of Belgrade in 1522. Bostan writes that the sultan traveled from Niş to

<sup>161</sup>Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü't Tevârih*, Vol. I, 147.

"Keşret-i berf bir mertebede idi ki, hallâc-u kudret anı mişâl-i 'ihn-i menkuş bisât-ı zemîn üzre merfûş etmiş idi ve şiddet-i bād-ı kâvî-zerf bir tabaka idi ki, sükkân-ı kevn ü mekân ve kuştân-ı zemîn ü âsmânı kerr ü eṭrûş eylemiş idi. Bir ferd çâr divâr içinden taşra çıkmaya belki kapudan hârice bakmaya kâdir değil idi. Bu fakîr ki, hıdmet-i imâmet takrîbi ile sefer ü hâzarda âsitân-ı se'âdet-âşiyân mülâzemetinden münfekk olmazam. Ol şiddet-i şita ve hiddet-i sermâda anda olup, şalât-i zuhrî edâ itdikden sonra kendü menziline gelmek şadedinde olacağı, Hudâ-yı Rabbü'l 'âlemîne ma' lumdur ki, sarây-ı 'âmire temâm-ı kurbı var iken bir kadem harekete kâdir olmayub, bi'l-âhara ba'z-ı huddâm-ı kirâm i'âneti ile şad hezâr zor u zâr ile vâşıl oldum. Ve bi'l-cümle bir kaç şiddet-i sermâ bu mertebede ve sevret-i bād-i hevâ bu tabakada iken şâh-ı Cem-şiyem ve pâdişâh-ı 'âlî-himem ol günlerde şikârı terk itmeyüb, her gün bir niçe şikâr şayd etmişlerdür."

<sup>162</sup>Mustafa Sâfi's account provides one example of a hunt in the summer of 1611. See Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü't Tevârih*, Vol. I, 150.

<sup>163</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. II, 174.

"...cennet-mekân Sulṭân Süleymân Hân 'aleyhi'r-raḥmeti ve'r-rızvân zemânından berû şadâ-yı vahşet-fezâ-yı şayyad ve likâ-yı dehşet-nümâ-yı kânâş-ı bî-dâd işidüb, görmeyen zaby ü rûbâh ü hargûş ve gürk ü şağâl ve sair vühûş ki, ol şahrâlarda ḥord ü çerâ ve ol tenhâlarda ḥalî' i'l-ızâr-ı bî-pervâşafâ idüb ol merâtî' -i keşiretü'l-ıuşbde 'işkeri mühennâ ve ol bevâdî-i zâtü'l-fürec ve's-şukubde naşibleri müheyyâ idi..."

Sofya, and from there to Filibe. There the sultan wished to hunt, so the ‘hunting ground of the sultans’ (*ḳadīm-ül eyyāmdan selāṭīn-i ‘azāmiñ şaydgāhıdır*) in Uzuncaova was prepared; both Bostan and Ārifi note that the hunting grounds were encircled, and animals gathered within.<sup>164</sup> It was common that hunting expeditions take place before or after campaigns. Perhaps that might explain why in the November of 1518 Sanuto was weary of the fact that Selim II had gone for a hunt; it was feared that the hunt was an excuse, and that he was, in fact, going for a campaign.<sup>165</sup> But the hunt was not necessarily related to campaigns. The sultans that enjoyed the hunt for its sake, looked for opportunities to go on hunts when they got the chance.

Sanuto notes in the March of 1525, that Süleyman the Magnificent was on the way back from a hunt in Edirne. He had organized a battue, with around 50000 people, and was on the way back to Istanbul, hunting along the way.<sup>166</sup> Sa’di b. Abd ül Mû’teal also has an account of this hunt in Edirne.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>164</sup>R. 1283, fol. 27a

“ol ḫavalide olan ḳazluklaruñ

ḫalkı sürülüb, şahrâyı ve ḫıbâli iḫatâ ḳılub şaydgâhı noḳṭa-i dayire  
ḳıldılar”

H. 1517, fol. 117a

“Emretti ki yaban eşeği ve karacanın ardına düşeler/ Yaban geyiklerini ve aslanları tek tek/ Bir sürü gibi bir araya toplayalar/ Sayılarının beş yüz bin olduğunu işittim/ Ve bu rakamdan eksik değildiler/ Dağlardan ve çöllerden, bir haftalık yoldan/ Şahlarının emrine itaat etmişlerdi/ Gece gündüz o ova dan ve dağlardan/ Sürü sürü yaban eşeği ve ceylan kovaladılar/ Dünya aslan ve kaplanların gözünde/ Çemberdeki avların gözünün daralması gibi daralmıştı”

It is worth noting here the mention of onagers (yaban eşeği/ “gur”) which are not indigenous to Rumelia.

However, an earlier mention of onagers in this geography had been made in Liudprand of Cremona’s account of his visit to the Byzantine court in Constantinople, although Liudprand writes that what Nicephoras showed him as wild asses were just like their tame asses.

See *Liudprand of Cremona: Report of his Mission to Constantinople* (in the *Medieval Sourcebook*).

This could well be a confusion of terminology, but another Ottoman text, H.415 also mentions wild asses. If not indigenous, it is not improbable that they might have been brought to the court or to hunting grounds in Rumelia to be displayed as unique creatures or to be hunted.

Another possibility is that, the text of the *Süleymannâme*, mimicking the *Shahnâme*, might have made yet another reference to the Persian epic in including onagers as animals hunted. Onagers, in particular, are among the creatures that the famed hunter Bahram Gur hunted, hence his sobriquet, ‘gur.’ It is still an interesting question, however, why an Ottoman text and image would mention and illustrate an onager, and not, for example, a dragon, another creature that was hunted or at least battled with in the *Shahnâme*.

<sup>165</sup> Sanuto, *I Diarii di Marino Sanudo*, (Bologna: Forni Editore, 1969), 301.

<sup>166</sup>*Ibid.*, V.39, 356.

<sup>167</sup> R. 1277, fols.172-173.

Süleyman the Magnificent, Sanuto writes on July 8, 1528, rather disdainfully, was again on a hunt in Beykoz when he arrived.<sup>168</sup> He writes again, on August 3, that the ‘signor’ was usually in Beykoz with Ibrahim Paşa, hunting, and that since he (Sanuto) and Piero Zen have arrived, the sultan had already gone there twice, and once they were given audience in Beykoz.<sup>169</sup> We also know from Koca Nişancı Salih b.Celâl that Süleyman went on a hunt in the September of 1528 in the vicinity of Vize.

The hunt, in addition to being a preparation for war was a means of leisure and ease of mind. After the birth of İsmihan Sultan in 1544/5, the daughter of Selim II and Nurbanu Sultan, Süleyman the Magnificent and Hürrem Sultan call for their son, Selim II, who was in Uşak at the time, to come to Bursa. There, they spend time in the thermal baths, and then Süleyman goes hunting with his son in Geyikli Baba, on the mountain of Uludağ.<sup>170</sup>

Conversely, the sultans could also find solace in the hunt, as Süleyman the Magnificent did after the death of his son Murad during the siege of Belgrade, for ‘he wished to rid himself of sorrow.’<sup>171</sup> The author, Kemal Paşa-zâde writes that the sultan hunted to get over his sorrow, but points out that he did not give himself to hunting.

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<sup>168</sup>*Ibid.*, V.48, 379.

<sup>169</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup>Kazasker Vusuli Çelebi, *Selimnâme*, 35.

“Ve Kûh-u Mugân’da ol sultan-ı cihân Sikender-i zemân âb-ı hayâtı nûş itmeğe revân ve cihân-nümâdan âlemi seyrân için Selîm Hân hazretlerini yanına alup mânend-i âftâb şâhik-i cebeli tulû’ıyle tâbende ve dirahşân eyledi. Misâl-i felek görinen kulleye çıkmada çok emek çeküb safâ-yı dil olan buruca urûc ve ric’atle tolaşup kondıkları makâm-ı sa’de vülûc eylediler. Geyüklü-baba’da olan ahûları şikâr ve geşt-i deşt ü kûh-sâr ârzusuyla ol mihr-i âlem mihr-i şefkatinden mâhı der-kenâr idüp müteveccih oldular. Şikâr ü seyrden sır olub girü bilâ-te’hi Burusa’da karâr-gâhları olan cây-ı dil-pezîre geldiler.”

<sup>171</sup>Kemal Paşa-zâde, *Tevârîh-i Âl-i Osman*, 117.

“Şehr-yârı kâm-kâr hâtır-ı ‘âtırlarından gerd-i melâli ve keder-i infî‘âli gidermeğçün eşnâ-yı irtihâlde ve menâzil ü merâhilden intikâlde şafâ-yı sayde vü temâşâ-yı naḥcîre mâyıl olub, şikâra kâbil olan kenâr-ı kûh-sârı ve meyhâ-ı deşt ü şahrâyı geşt ü seyrân iderek giderdi. Her gün-i diger gün şafâda geh hevâda geh yâzıda ovada pervâzîleriñ ve tâzîleriñ tihûlarla ve âhûlarla bâzîlerinden istifâ-yı hâz eylerdi. Ammâ şaydı kayd idinmez yola giderek iderdi. Filibe ile Edirne arasında Uzuncaova didikleri fezâ-yı nûzhet-fazâyâ ki, kâm-kâr pâdişâhlarıñ şikâr-gâh-ı kâdimidir, gelindikde ‘azîm naḥcîr tedbîrin görd, Ol deyr-bâz yazıda tîz-tâz tâzı ve yüz şalub bir nice yüz âhûyu pür tek ü pûy alub gürg ü ḥinzîra tîr u şimşîr urdı.”

This note suggests a certain balance between being an avid hunter and being solely interested in the hunt and avoiding other aspects of rule.<sup>172</sup> The royal hunt was an important affair. It was a preparation for war, it gave the sultans the opportunity to exercise, to ease their minds, to encounter the villagers or others, and inspect their realms. But most of all, the royal hunt was a display of power, be it in the vast battue that fed on the idea of physical display, or be it in the exclusive, more secluded hunts.

## CHAPTER II: THE HUNTER-SULTAN/ THE WARRIOR-SULTAN

“When the fierce lions go out to hunt, the woodlands become bereft with their apprehension and presence”<sup>173</sup> writes Kemal Paşazâde, in a rather monitory, yet matter-of-fact manner, when in the August of 1526 Syrmia and Újlak fell to the Ottomans, the author likening the Ottomans to fierce lions, and their enemies to all those trepid animals trying to escape. After the battle of Mohács, the author makes a similar statement, asking rhetorically whether a gazelle can equal a lion.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>172</sup>On hunting and excess, see Celâl-zâde Mustafa, *Selîm-nâme*, Ed. Ahmet Uğur, Mustafa Çuhadar (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990):58.

<sup>173</sup>Kemal Paşazâde, *Tevârîh-i Âl-i Osman*, Vol. X, 275.

“Eṭrâf-ı bîşehâ zikr u ez-ân şevad tehî/ Şîr-i jiyân çü-‘azm-ı şikâr efkenî kuned.”

<sup>174</sup>*Ibid.*, 339.

“Kâbilmidür muḳabil ola şîrile ğâzâl.”

From Sokollu Mehmed's taunting words to Arslan Paşa with allusions to the fox<sup>175</sup>, to a certain hawk-nosed Hasan Ağa,<sup>176</sup> a standard formalistic literary culture that frequently alludes to animals prevails in the classical period. George Jones, in his article "Oswald von Wolkenstein's Animals and Animal Symbolism" remarks that "it had been common knowledge in the Middle Ages that all God's furred and feathered creatures had fulfilled this very purpose,"<sup>177</sup> that is, that of serving as "comparisons for people."<sup>178</sup> He points out an early example from the Psalms that warns men against being like the horse or the mule "which have no understanding."<sup>179</sup> In Habakkuk 1:14-15 the tyranny of Pharaoh Necho is denoted, who, with his net, catches men who are like the fish of the sea.

From the epics of Dede Korkut to Beydeba's *Kelila and Dimna*, to the Ottoman Turkish *Hümayunnâme*; from toponyms bearing animal names, such as Kurdkayası or Doğanca or Büyüktavşan korusu,<sup>180</sup> to likening people's characteristics, physical or otherwise, to animals, Ottoman narrative sources abound with examples of animal imagery and metaphor. One salient animal imagery in late 15th and mid-16th century Ottoman narrative sources is within the context of war, where battles are depicted as hunts, or the enemies as game to be chased. Conversely, in this period, descriptions of the royal hunts read almost like battle scenes. That the royal hunt is a practice for war is well-established. What is perhaps just as intriguing, and less emphasized, is animal symbolism, and particularly hunting imagery in battle scenes. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to delve into the roots of such an imagery, that "Mesopotamian kings of the earliest period [...] describe battle scenes as hunting scenes [and] represent the capture of enemies as a successful cast of the hunting net"<sup>181</sup> is noted by Othmar Keel. In the Ottoman context, the almost interchangeable depictions of battles replete with references to hunting and hunting animals, and royal hunts resonating with martial valour find a peak especially in narrative sources during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, the "epitome of the ferocious hunter-sultan."<sup>182</sup> The construct of the

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<sup>175</sup>Selānikî, *Tārîh-i Selānikî*, 26.

<sup>176</sup>*Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>177</sup>George Jones, "Oswald von Wolkenstein's Animals and Animal Symbolism," *MLN* 94, No.3 (1979): 524-540, 524.

<sup>178</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>179</sup>Psalms 32:9, King James Version.

<sup>180</sup>Şenol Çelik in his article "Av Geleneginde Edirne'nin Yeri" also points to the fact that several of the places he had conducted field research were named after animals.

<sup>181</sup>Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms*, (Eisenbrauns: 1997), 89.

sultan as a hunter and a warrior is reflected in the texts where, not only the sultan, but the Ottomans in general, are portrayed as warriors not unlike ‘fierce lions.’

At an age when intertextuality (perhaps a euphemism in this case for appropriation) is widespread, the Ottoman narrative sources describing the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent share a certain approach to the portrayal of war drenched in animal symbolism. Without delving into the relations of appropriation and borrowings between texts, the accounts of Kemal Paşa-zāde, Hasan Bey-zāde, Koca Nişancı, Celal-zāde, Bostān, Sā’di bin ‘Abd-ül-Mûte‘āl and Ārifî will be viewed together in a thematic manner, within the context of the descriptions of battles and of royal hunts, and seen in continuity with earlier narrative sources. Yet another, later text, the *Zübdetü’t-Tevārîh* of Mustafa Sāfi, will be used in comparison, where a change in the discourse of the royal hunt could be observed.

## II.1. Battle of lions and boars

Kemal Paşa-zāde provides a long and detailed account of the battle of Mohács which took place in the August of 1526. In a discussion of how to go about in overcoming the Hungarian army, the author puts in the mouth of Bali Beğ, the beg of Szmederevo, in effect a ‘wolf of the mountains of war,’<sup>182</sup> a comparison of hunting and war-making, emphasizing once again the importance of the royal hunt as a practice for war. After a description of how doughty a ‘man’ Bali Beğ was by comparing him to wolves and

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<sup>182</sup>Tülay Artan, “A *Book of Kings* Produced and Presented as a Treatise on Hunting” *Muqarnas* 25, 2008: 299-330, 300. Henceforth Artan, *Treatise on Hunting*.

<sup>183</sup>Kemal Paşa-zāde, *Tevārîh-i Âl-i Osmân*, Vol.X, 287.

“Semendre beği Bali Beğ ki, küh-sār-ı gîr u dārîñ kurdıyidi, miyân-ı meydân-ı dârb u harb ol şîr-dilîin yeri yurdiyidi.”

Bali Beg, the beg of Szmederevo was a wolf of the mountain of war; the battlefield was home to this leonine brave.

lions, and how he attacked the enemy with his sword like the fierce claws of lions, and with his arrow like the beak of a swift-flying bird,<sup>184</sup> he has Bali Beğ set out his battle strategy. Hasan Bey-zāde, appropriating much from Kemal Paşa-zāde, too describes Bali Beğ as a “leonine champion of the forest of war.”<sup>185</sup> Bali Beğ, in Kemal Paşa-zāde’s text recounts: “The enemy, who is an ancient foe, is ferocious, and must be taken by mastery; that ill-disposed must be hunted. Even if that vindictive, raucous enemy be like a weak ant, it must not be underestimated.”<sup>186</sup>

Kemal Paşa-zāde continues, that it was the habit of the Hungarians to be completely covered in steel and iron armour in battle.<sup>187</sup> Bali Beğ thus suggests that, as the enemy approaches them, they let them in and cross behind them to attack. He compares the enemy to ‘wild boars with teeth of long lances,’ and says, “in the hunting ground of ghaza, we have done such, and so must we again.” In a not too modest manner, he adds, “just as the young lion is valourous to enter the plain of war, the measure and counsel for war must be heard from the old wolf.”<sup>188</sup> Here, Bali Beğ, the ‘old wolf’ consults his experience in the hunt to devise an attack plan on the enemy, an enemy identified with the boar.

The ‘infidel’ is commonly portrayed as the boar or swine in narrative accounts of this period. It is not only the bestial traits that are reflected on humans, but the physical characteristics of men are depicted by those of the beast. So, Mehmed Neşri puts in the

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<sup>184</sup>*Ibid.*

“Minķār-ı mürğ-ı tîz-reftâr-ı tîr, ve pençe-i pür-şikence-i şîr-i şimşîri ol bed-kirdârlara ura gelmişdi.”

<sup>185</sup>Hasan Bey-zāde, *Hasan Bey-zāde Tarihi*, 64.

“...Semedire beyi Balî Bey’den ki guzât-ı şeca‘at-simâtun pîri ve bîşe-i vegânun şîr-i dilîridür...”

<sup>186</sup>Kemal Paşa-zāde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmân*, Vol.X, 287.

Mezkûr Emîr-i rûşen-zamîr eyitdi: Düşmen ki, haşm-ı kadîmdüri yâvuz ‘azîmdür, uzlûğile tutub ol bed-râyîñ kolayın avlamak gerek, ‘adû-yi şûr-engîz-i kîne-cûy mûr-ı bî-zûr olursa da hor görmek olmaz.

<sup>187</sup>*Ibid.*

“Üngürûs-ı menhûsuñ peleng-hûy-i cenk-cûylarının ‘âdet-i kadîmeleri buydu ki, darb u harbe taşmîm-i ‘azîmet idicek, başdan ayâğa, depeden dîrnâğ varınca atı vü kendüsi berügstvân-ı âhenile miğfer u cevşenile bürünürdi.”

<sup>188</sup>*Ibid.*

“Ol âteş-nihâd horyadlar, hażîz-i pâydan zirve-i farķa varınca, pûlâda ğarķ olmışlardır. Tâb-ı hamle ile cümle bir yerden her ne ķalb-i şalbe kendüleri ursalar seylâb-ı nev-bahâr sîne-i kûh-sârı yarâr gibi harķ iderler. Sinân-ı tâb-dâr u âteş-bârlarıyle her neye tókunsalar harķ iderler. Muķtezâ-yı rây-ı hâzm-ârây oldur ki, ‘azm-i hâzmile seyl-i bî-meyl ü emân gibi, ol bed-gümânlar heyl ü heylemânile üzerimize yürüdükleri gibi, onlardan ırılıub yol virevüz, hamle-i tîzile tâbu şitâb-ı hîzile geķe varduķlarınlayın bögürlerinden girevüz. Şimdiye dek eğer çoğ ve ger âz ol ğürâzları ki, azıları nîze-i dirâzdır. Şıkar-ġâh-ı ġazâda böyle olayı gelmişüzdür, ġinede öyle itmek ġerekdür, şîr-i cüvân, meydân-ı rezme ‘azmde ne ķadar dilîrise, dâr u ġir tedbîrin ġürk-i pîrden iştirmek ġerekdür.”

mouth of Hacı Evrenoz and Iskender Begs, among the ‘wolves of that land, lion of that metier [of ghaza],’<sup>189</sup> another battle strategy against the Serbians at the onset of the 1389 war of Kosovo. The Serbian army, all clad in iron, is likened to swine. It is again the ‘infidel’ that is ‘boar-faced.’<sup>190</sup> Where the Europeans are the boars, the Ottomans, conversely, are always the lions.

In his description of the siege of Rhodes, Kemal Paşa-zāde states: “When the lion proceeds, the boar escapes, no matter how brave.”<sup>191</sup> This comparison of the proceeding lion or the lion that goes to hunt, and the boar or other animals in general, is repeated in Kemal Paşa-zāde’s account at several points. The imagery of the lion and the boar is quite common elsewhere too. Özlem Kumrular points out that in courtly festivities in Istanbul, lions signifying the Ottomans, and boars signifying the Europeans, were made to fight; an ‘allegorical evidence,’ she argues, of the association of the ‘infidel’ with the boar.<sup>192</sup> She also points out one account where after the battle of Mohács, Süleyman the Magnificent encounters an old regiment beg and asks him what the next step should be. The man answers that the sultan should beware that the boar does not rear its young.<sup>193</sup>

Conversely, European accounts mostly denoted the Ottomans as the ‘dogs.’<sup>194</sup> A certain common theme of animal metaphors and similes, as well as hunting, existed across Eurasia, and are products of a similar culture that is very much entangled with hunting. The animals portrayed are similar: lions, boars, dogs, gazelles, falcons, wolves, etc. How the rulers, men or states are portrayed or associated with particular animals may

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<sup>189</sup>Mehmed Neşri, *Kitāb-ı Cihān-nümā*, 295.

“Bu alay-ı cihan-peyma nihayet bulduğu yirde ‘adūnun böğrinden girüb, ciğerin hūn itmek için Hacı Evrenoz Beğ ve Mihal oğlu İskender Beğ ki ol yurduñ koca kurdları ve ol pişelerin eski şirleri idi, hezār kerreler ol kenarlarda küffarile hengāme-i gir ü dāri kurmuşlardur, bazar-ı kārzārı turgurmuşlardı, küffarın yürüyüşin ve turuşın tekrar sınımışlar, değışin tokuşın kerratle deñemişler idi.”

<sup>190</sup>*Ibid.*, 253.

“Bir küçirek gemi içinde yiğirmi-vār ceng-ādemî peleng-i tîz-ceng-i pür-sitîz gibi hîz idüb vardı kenāra irdi. İçlerinden bir neheng-āheng şîr-gîr dilîr deryā-yı semā-sîmādan berķ-i tāb-dār gibi şıçradı çıkdı, şimşîr-i celādete ser-çeşme-i şecā’ atdan āb virdi. Küffār-ı bed-kirdārın añarı çekilüb giden ālāyından bir bed-rāy-ı gürāz-sîret ki, hîşār-ı şalābetin birgazıyidi, gördi ki, bu gāzî yalnız kenara çıkdı. Fi’l-hāl ol bed-fi’āl-i nekbet-meāl üzerine at şaldı, gelüb irdüğü gibi bu piyāde ki, serv-i āzāde-i bûstān-ı meydān-ı gazāydı, mecāl virmeyüb çaldı.”

<sup>191</sup>*Ibid.*, 148.

“Kaçan kim ide ‘azm-i naḥcîr-şîr,  
Kaçar gürg ne deñlü olursa dilîr.”

<sup>192</sup>Özlem Kumrular, “Köpekler ve Domuzlar Savaşında Kanuni’nin Batı Siyasetinin Bir İzduşümü Olarak Türk İmaji: Vahşet, Kibir, Görkem” in *Dünyada Türk İmgesi*, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005): 111.

<sup>193</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>194</sup>*Ibid.*



differ, however. The anonymous author of the *Gesta Principum Polonorum* (Deeds of the Princes of Poles), the first history of Poland, for example, employs a similar imagery used commonly by Mesopotamian kings, of hunting and ensnarement to denote captured enemies. When King Bolesław I Chrobry (d.1025) and the King of the Ruthenians “unbeknown to each other [...] invaded each other’s countries at one and the same time,”<sup>195</sup> the King of the Ruthenians thought he “had Bolesław trapped like a netted animal”<sup>196</sup> and sent the king a message, saying: “Let Bolesław know that my dogs and my hunters have caught him like *a pig wallowing in the mire*.”<sup>197</sup> Here, the anonymous writer, makes a clear reference to the hunt and the enemy as game, and also alludes to the biblical tradition.<sup>198</sup> To the King’s message, Bolesław replies: “A pig in the mire? Well put, indeed! The hoofs of my horses shall wallow in the blood of the hunters and the dogs, that is, your captains and soldiers, and I shall savage your land and your cities like a wild boar.”<sup>199</sup> The imagery is quickly upturned with Bolesław’s quick wit. The different characteristics of one animal could also be used in different situations, as the example of the pig and the boar shows. Where a ‘pig wallowing in mire’ portrays weakness, a ‘wild boar’ is seen as an animal that causes much destruction. Similarly, where Bali Beğ was, with his military might, revered as an old wolf, “stealthily snatching plunder and running for the woods in the way of greedy wolves” is denounced in the *Gesta Principum Polonorum*.<sup>200</sup> Bali Beğ’s self-advertisement contra ‘young lions’ and a hasty attack also suggests that the animal imagery is rather malleable, where according to the situation, a particular characteristic of an animal is taken as comparison and measure.

As one of the most common similes, the lion is almost invariably always the epitome of all animal imagery, with Bali Beğ’s note of caution being a rare exception. The lion metaphor could portray the Ottoman army in general, or a valourous leader, fighter, but

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<sup>195</sup>Gallus Anonymous, *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, (The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles), Tr. Paul Knoll and Frank Schaer, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003): 51. Henceforth, *GpP*.

<sup>196</sup>*Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>197</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>198</sup>2 Pet 2:22.

But it is happened unto them according to the true proverb, The dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.

<sup>199</sup>*GpP*, 53.

<sup>200</sup>*Ibid.*, 265.

in most cases the lion portrayed the ruler. Kemal Paşa-zāde, in a detour to his account of the early deeds of Süleyman the Magnificent, recounts the story of Cem Sultan. This detour is worth noting, especially with regards to the use of the imagery of the lion.

Mehmed II, the ‘hero of Rumelia,’ the ‘high-flying falcon of the hunting plains of war’ had died.<sup>201</sup> Yet again an exception to the rather formalistic descriptions of death as portrayed in narrative sources of this period as flying from this temporary world to the eternal world, Mehmed II’s death is depicted as a hunt; that is to say, this time, it is death that hunts the ‘lion.’<sup>202</sup>

Following Mehmed II’s death, Kemal Paşa-zāde dwells on the feud between Bayezid and Cem, and writes that “as two swords cannot fit a sheath, two lions cannot exist in one lair, for the Shah is the head, and the people the body; the body cannot live with two heads.”<sup>203</sup> The Ottoman state, here, is likened to a body, with the ruler being its head. The lion in its lair also denotes the ruler; the lion the ruler, its den the state. Just as two lions could not exist in one lair, any disturbance of the lion in that lair, causes reason for worry.

In 1389, hearing that the Ottoman army under Murad I has made its way to Filibe, the Serbian king bemoans: “Woe, I startled the tiger from its sleep, woke the lion, stepped on the tail of the sleeping snake, threw rocks at the wolf, and incurred trouble on myself.”<sup>204</sup> As the Serbian king worried such, sultan Murad made his way to Ulu-ova,

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<sup>201</sup> Kemal Paşa-zāde, *Tevārîh-i Âl-i Osmân*, Vol X., 180.

“Kâhramân-ı kûrûm-u Bûm-ı Rûm  
Ya‘ nî Sulţân Muḥammed Gâzî.  
Şayd-gâh-ı veğâ havâsınıñ,  
Şâhbâz-ı bülend-pervâzı.”

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*

“Maḳâm-ı pür-âlâm-ı dünyâtı terk idib, sarây-ı pür-şafâ-yı dâru’s-selâm’a gidicek cihân-ı şîrleri pençe-i pür-şikence-i şimşîrinde zebûn iken gûr-i ḳabr ol aşlânı şayd idicek.”

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

“Şıgamaz bir niyâma iki şimşîr,  
Tûramaz bir künâm içre iki şîr.  
Çü Şeh bâş olur ve ra‘ iyyet beden,  
Dirilmez iki başlu olduḳda ten.”

Kemal Paşa-zāde, in the fourth book of the *Tevārîh-i Âl-i Osman* uses an almost identical statement and writes that two lions cannot lie in the same marshy place, and that two rulers cannot rule together. See Kemal Paşa-zāde, *Tevārîh-i Âl-i Osman*, Vol. VII, ed. Koji Imazawa, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000), 7.

<sup>204</sup> Mehmed Neşri, *Kitâb-ı Cihân-nümâ*, 260-261.

and from there to Kratova. There, a messenger sent by the distressed Serbian king found Murad I, and much to the sultan's anger, related the king's message. The Serbian king had been expecting the Ottoman sultan to attack for three months, but complained that everyday the sultan hunted, but did not attack. To this the Ottoman sultan resolved to show the 'manhood' of the Turks, which the message had accused was lacking, and further pointed out that one who had not felt anybody else's blow, feels his own is like that of iron; that in the dark, the cat feels itself a lion.<sup>205</sup>

## II.2. Hungry wolves, high-flying falcons and eager crocodiles and tigers

Kemal Paşa-zāde, in his earlier account of the reign of Bayezid I, writes that the Karaman principality was helpless against the Ottoman attack, for they knew that "the fox, no matter what cave it tries to hide in, cannot escape the claws of the lion; the crane or the goose, no matter how swift, or how high they fly, cannot escape the beak of the falcon or hawk."<sup>206</sup>

It is with zeal that the falcons and hawks attack the cranes. And it is with a similar zeal and eagerness, as identified with the falcons, with crocodiles, with tigers and wolves, that the Ottomans attack the enemies. Kemal Paşa-zāde writes that "the mountains resonated with the surge of doughty men like eager crocodiles and tigers and seizing lions"<sup>207</sup> to describe the Ottomans' attack on the lands of the Hungarians. Hasan Bey-zāde, Neşri, and

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"Rivāyet iderler ki, çünkü Hunkār Filibe ovasına müctemi' oldı. Laz Tekvur'ı anı işidüb, içine old düşüb eytdi: 'ey diriğ, kaplanı belinledüb, arslanı uyarub, uyur yılanuñ kuyruğın basub, kurda taş atub, belâyı başuma satun aldım."

<sup>205</sup>*Ibid.*, 269

"Rivāyetdür ki, çünkü Hunkār Ulu-Ova'dan göçdi. Kara-Tonlu nam yirde bir zaman karar itdi. Anda Lâz'dan ilçi gelün, muhassal-i haberi buydı: "Üşde ben hazıram. Üç aydan berü eğer ki kañlı dahi olsa, gelmelü olaydı. Eğer er ise gelsün, uğraşalum; ve eğer gelmezse, hazır olsun, ben varum. Her gün turmayub, ava şikāra meşgul olub, heman korı, üş vardım deyü ihmal idüb bize imhāl ider" didi. Hunkār bu sözi işidüb, ilçiye gazab edüb, eytdi: "Eğer ilçiye ölüm olsaydı, fil'hal seni depelerdüm." Ol mel'un bunuñ gibi lâf u güzâf ursa, 'acebmi ki islām kılıcın görmemişdir. Kimse tabancasın yimeyen, kendü tabancasın demürden sanur. Ve kedi karañu evde kendüyi arslan tevehhüm ider. İnşâallah aña Türk erliğin gösterem" deyü buyurdu.

<sup>206</sup> Kemal Paşa-zāde, *Tevārih-i Āl-i Osman*, Vol. IV, 98-99.

<sup>207</sup> Kemal Paşa-zāde, *Tevārih-i Āl-i Osman*, Vol. X, 49.

Sinan Çavuş who wrote on the sieges of Siklos, Esztergom, and Székesféhervár<sup>208</sup>, all writing in the early to mid-16th century, all use similar descriptions of the surge of the Ottoman army, or particular generals or the sultan.

So when Neşri writes that the Ottomans attacked the enemy like a falcon attacking crows, an imagery he repeats at several points in his text,<sup>209</sup> he alludes to a certain tradition of hunting with birds, and a certain manner of fierce attack, as well as a relationship between hunter and prey. A similar imagery, not necessarily related to the royal hunt, but to the idea of hunter and prey, is that of likening the attack to that of a hungry wolf into a herd of sheep. Sûzî Çelebi, in his *G̃azavât-nâme* of a frontier lord, Mihâl oğlu Ali Beg, writes that “when the ‘Turk’ cuts to the bone with his knife, don’t ask of the sheep at the hands of the wolf.”<sup>210</sup>

With a similar eagerness, the “enemy-hunting” grand vizier, Ibrahim Paşa, attacked the fortress of Pétervárad in the July of 1526. The meadows nearby turned into a tulip garden with the red standards of the ghazis. The ‘leonine’ champions of the enemy moved forth in a steadfast manner. It is interesting to note hear that the enemy is likened to lions, in all likelihood, to portray a strong enemy that the Ottoman army managed to overcome. The above-mentioned pasha stretched like a high-flying falcon that had sighted a paddle of ducks.<sup>211</sup> He attacked with such might that his valour could have dwarfed those in the tales of the Shāhnāma.<sup>212</sup>

<sup>208</sup>Sinan Çavuş, *Süleymanname. Tarih-i Feth-i Şikloş, Estergon ve İstol-Belgrad*.

<sup>209</sup> Neşri, *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ*, 63, 203, 231, 299, 301, 329.

<sup>210</sup> Levend, *Gazavatnameler*, 253.

<sup>211</sup> Kemal Paşa-zâde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, 249.

“Hâzret-i şâhib-kırâmî fermân-ı vâcibü’l iz‘ânıyla sipeh-sâlâr-ı düşmen-şikâr pâşâ-yı rûşen-rây ki, berķ-ı tîg-ı tîg-berķ gibi cihân-küşây, âfitâb-ı râyeti râyet-i âfitâb gibi ‘âlem-ârâydır. Rumiliniñ beğleri vü leşkeriyle bile koşulan kapu halkı vü meşhûruñ üzerine varub ķondu. Ol diyârdaki yâzılar ġâzileriñ kıvıllı bayraklarıyla ki, eşcâr-ı gül-zâr-ı kâr-zâr-ıñ yapraklarıydı, lâle-zâra döndi. Pâşâ-yı şaf-ârâ-yı âşaf ârây, kendü âlâyında olan ġadem ü ġaşemile kal‘ aya karşı tûrub, ol ġarafa ġayl-i cerrâr seyl-vâr aķub çağladılar. Kûffâr-ı bed-ferâm-ıñ şîr-iķdâm dilîrleri ve miķdamları, câyları tenknây olmağın cenge âhengi kolây çağıldılar. Surdan ġaşra çıkub ol bed-râylar ‘asker-i İslâm-ı zafer-encâma karşı tûrub âlay bağladılar. Mezkûr serdâr-ı ser-efrâz ördek vü ġaz sürüsün görmiş şahbâz-ı bülend-pervâz gibi gerindi söndi, ol mihr-i sipîhr-i ihtîşâm, erd-şîr-i şîr-iķdâm mîg-girdâr-ı siperin yapınub berķ-vâr tîga el şundu.”

<sup>212</sup>*Ibid.*, 250.

“Ol ġara bulud u dūd-ı ķîr-endüdü ķâr-âlûd gibi ġararub tûran âlây-ıñ içine gireyidi. Miyân-ı meydân-ı dâr u ġîrde bâzâr-ı kâr-zârı germ idüb şavaş ķumâşını âla vireyidi, defter-i pür-‘iberi şühûr u eyyâmıda bir nâm ķoyaydı ki, şahâyif-i pür-leţâyif-i Şehnâmede mezbûr u meştûr olan dâsitân-ı pûr destân mensûġ ola gideyidi. Ol nerîmân-ı

How much this actually portrays an animal symbolism is questionable, although the animals depicted are fierce animals.<sup>213</sup> It may be, however, that the authors are also making use of a formalistic device that is shared among them, and other contemporaneous authors as well, in using puns and rhymes. So, the leonine champions are “şîr-i dilîr,” and the eager soldiers are either, “peleng-i ceng” or “neheng-âheng serheng.” In effect, these rhyming metaphors are not too different from the many ‘infidels’ asking for mercy (el-aman dirlerdi) from the Germans (Alaman)<sup>214</sup>, or rather the ‘ruthless Germans’ (Alaman-i bî-aman)<sup>215</sup> or Hasan Bey-zâde attributing Selim II with mildness (halîm).<sup>216</sup> However, the choice of animals must not to be quickly brushed aside, and if nothing else, implies a certain shared culture that is heavily based on animals.

### II.3. Hills of roses and carcasses: the hunt as war

“With the blood of the beasts, the plains became like Badakhshan,<sup>217</sup> with drops of blood, like red rubies; the horns of antelopes in the sea of blood became entangled like branches. The vapours of blood rising to the sky formed a red curtain.”<sup>218</sup> Thus

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zemânîñ âdî añıldıkça bende vü âzâd âferîn-bâd idüb her nâdîde biliş ve yad ânı yâd ideyidi.”

<sup>213</sup> The very example of wolves attacking sheep could also be used differently in yet a different context. Seyyid Lokman, in the second volume of the *Hünernâme*, writes that with the accession of Süleyman the Magnificent, the wolf had befriended the sheep, and the falcon had lived in the same nest as the dove, stressing Süleyman’s sense of justice and goodwill. This is further supported in a miniature that tells the story of an odd encounter during a hunt in Yanbolu. A wolf had somehow entered a flock of sheep when the villagers had gone away to prepare for a battue. The owner of the sheep relates that, a week later, when the villagers had returned, he found the wolf among the flock of sheep. He had not hurt any sheep and had lived among them for a week. Hearing this, the sultan granted the man with a timar, the man telling of his wish to be a *sipahi*. The wolf was given to a certain Ali Bey, who looked after it for three years until the wolf died from the plague.

See Zekeriya Eyüboğlu, *Hünernâme*, 23-25, 132, 136-138.

<sup>214</sup> Hasan Bey-zâde, *Hasan Bey-zâde Tarihi*, 37.

“Melik-i milk-i Alaman-ki sâ’ir-i mülûk-i küffâr, ol cebbâr elinden el-emân dirlerdi...”

<sup>215</sup> Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, Vol. VII, 5.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

“Zîkr-i ahvâl-i şehinşâh-ı halîm, fâtiḥ-i Kıbrıs, cenâb-ı şeh Selîm”

<sup>217</sup> Today, covering an area of Tajikistan and Afghanistan, famed for its ruby.

<sup>218</sup> “Canavarlar kanı ile ol saḥralar feza-yı Bedeḥşana dönüb qatrat-ı ḥunla

pür l’âl ü yavâķit oldu. Ol deryâ-yı ḥun içre dem alûd olub

yatan ahular boynuzundan mercan şaḥ ender-şahla tûldu.

Ol ḥunun göglere su’ud iden buḥarından kenarı asman şekl-i şafakda

perde-i hamra bürüdü.”

R. 1277, fol. 173.

describes Sā'di bin 'Abd-ül-Mûte'âl, in his mid-16th century *Selim-nâme*, all the blood and gore of the hunt. In the winter of 1524/5, Süleyman the Magnificent hunted in the vicinity of Edirne, a place well-liked by the Ottoman sultans for its environment suitable for hunting.<sup>219</sup> After the animals had been gathered on the hunting ground,<sup>220</sup> the sultan charged at the animals, cutting them in half.<sup>221</sup> So many animals had been killed that “hills of carcasses filled the plains, blood from these hills flowed felicitously, like rivers, into the city.”<sup>222</sup> As a rare source in the classical period for such a lengthy account (almost four folios) of a royal hunt, Sā'di bin 'Abd-ül-Mûte'âl's description of Süleyman's 1524/5 hunting expedition reads almost like a battle scene.

Relating a different hunt, one in the autumn of 1528, in the vicinity of Vize, Koca Nişancı Sâlih b. Celâl, in his *Târîh-i Budun*, uses an almost identical description of the battue. He writes: “With the blood of the beasts, the plains became like Badakhshan, with the gunk of blood they were filled with garnets and rubies. The gazelles sunk in a sea of blood, swam among entangled branches of their horns.”<sup>223</sup> While it is hard to establish the relations between the two texts and how a very similar description is used for two different hunts, both accounts of two hunts, one in 1524, another in 1528, are quite long, and rather flowery, and can be read to give an idea of the physical hunt in terms of the animals partners and the preparation of the hunting ground, as well as a particular discourse of the hunt as related by the two authors.

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<sup>219</sup>See Şenol Çelik, 1888. Also see Kemal Paşa-zâde, *Tevârîh-i Âl-i Osman*, Vol. X, 11.

<sup>220</sup>*R. 1277*, fol. 172 .

“şikâr-ı 'azîm itmekçün afağa i'lam idüb nidâ-yı 'am eylediler ta'mam bir niçe günlük yoldan bir niçe bin kimesne ile tağ ve taşî kuşadub vuhuş u tıyurun zıkr olan şikârgâha toğru sürdüler.”

<sup>221</sup> *R. 1277*, fol. 173.

“Sa'ikâ gibi peykânî çalub canavarı dû-nîm eylerdi.”

<sup>222</sup> *R. 1277*, fol. 173.

“Şikâr etiyle ol sahrada püşteler peydâ olub, ol püştelerden kan çeşmeleri ırmaqlar olub ba' dehu halka icâzet buyurub sa'adette şehre mürâca'at itdiler.”

<sup>223</sup> *R. 1280*, fol. 79.

“Canavarlar kanı ile ol şağra

faza-yı bedehşana dönüb kaşran-ı hûnla pür lâl ve yavakit oldı. Derya-yı hûn içre dem âlûd olub [....] âhular boynuzundan ol aralar her cân-ı şânı ender-şahla tölub kesilen şikârı bisteri içinde hubâb olub yüzerdi.”

Sā'di bin 'Abd-ül-Mûte'âl, citing a Koranic passage,<sup>224</sup> writes that time was ripe for a hunt. It was winter and the sultan wished to conduct a battue in the vicinity of Edirne. The villagers were called and thousands were summoned to prepare the hunting grounds, to round up the plains and gather the animals within the hunting ground. When the sultan sent his falcons after the birds, the birds fell down like autumn leaves. And when he charged at the animals, fear overtook them.<sup>225</sup>

As the birds fall from the skies like autumn leaves in Sā'di bin 'Abd-ül-Mûte'âl's text, so do the cranes fall, this time, like carded wool, in Koca Nişancı's text.<sup>226</sup> Koca Nişancı's text, much in the same manner as Sā'di bin 'Abd-ül-Mûte'âl's, is a flowery depiction of the hunt, perhaps in its elaboration not simply of a particular hunt, but a discourse of the royal hunt, where the physical prowess of the sultan is reflected through the sheer size of the slaughter, as well as its particular description. The author likens falcons and hawks to soldiers, and their attack on the cranes as a battle between two soldiers, writing: "High and low, on that area, the two soldiers had snarled together, made odd turns and moves. The din of falcon bells covered the plains. Hawks and falcons charged at the black geese like belled Rumili ghazis."<sup>227</sup> Not only are the

<sup>224</sup>Maide: 2.

"İhramdan çıktınız mı avlanabilirsiniz" (إذا حلتكم)

(فاصلطو)

<sup>225</sup>R. 1277, fol. 172.

"İttifak avan-ı şita karib olub sayd zamanı idi ber mucib-i "iza haleltum fastadu" hatır-ı atirinde dava-i sayda temaşa galib olub saika-i nüfus ahlak-ı şehriyaran dil-agah olmagın şikar-ı azim itmege talib oldu ferman-ı kaza-i cereyanı üzre nevahi-i Edirne'de [عقروا] dimekle ma'ruf saydgahda şikar-ı azim itmek için afaka i'lam idüb nida-yı am eylediler ta'mam bir niçe günlük yoldan bir niçe bin kimesne ile tag ve taşı kuşadub vuhuş u tuyurun zikr olan şikargaha togru sürdüler.

Seyyid Lokman in the second volume of the *Hünernâme* uses a similar metaphor to portray the abundance of one of the hunting grounds near Moldavia to suggest the animals were like autumn leaves on the green grounds.

H. 1524, fol. 68b.

"...bu eşnâ-yı refârda güzâr-ı 'asker-i hümâyûn bir hışâr-ı küffâre uğradı ki sebza-zârı pür-ţarâvet idi ve vühûş u tuyûr-ı şikârî-yi bî-nihâyet ki şâhsâr-i gevzenden şîrler için peşe'-i bî-berg hâşıl olmuşdı ve kesret-i âhûdan ol şahrâda güyâ ferrâş-ı rûzgâr şâl-i 'âlî döşemişdi rubâh-i kehribâ-gûn sebze'-i zümür-rûd-fâm üzre hâzân yaprağı gibi perîşân ve hargûş ü dirâz-gûş tâzî-yı bād-refâr korhusından her tarafda pûyân ü gürfân olmuşdı."

In Zekeriya Eyüboğlu, *Hünernâme*, 189.

<sup>226</sup>R. 1280, fol. 79.

"Turnaları şungurlar hallaç gibi gökden yögen yün gibi atarak indirirdi."

<sup>227</sup>*Ibid.*

"O kûşelerden uçan 'asker-i tuyûr üstine havâle olan havayiler leşkeriniñ yer u bâlâ bulut gibi gökyüzünü tonattı. O meydâna zîr u bâlâdan iki 'asker bir birine girmişdi. Ortada 'âcib dönüşler ve kovuşlar eylediler. Ceresler avâzı ile ol aralar töldi. Şâhinler ile balabanlar qaraca qazlara kafiye zilli Rum-ili gâzileri gibi tokınırdı."

falcons likened to soldiers but the noises from their bells are likened to those on Rumili soldiers who wore bells on themselves.<sup>228</sup> As the sultan charged at the animals and slayed them, “those plains turned into tulip gardens, with the blood of the game.”<sup>229</sup> After the siege of Sábacs, Kemāl Paşa-zāde, too, describes the battleground as a tulip garden.<sup>230</sup>

Another metaphor in common with all three texts, as well as Ārifî’s *Süleymannâme*, is that of the pile of bodies/ carcasses. The size of the slaughter at the battues are hinted at when the authors write, the bodies of animals formed hills. This is not an unlikely image, as a later example of a battue conducted by Ahmed I and related by Mustafa Sâfi numbers the animals killed as over nine hundred (not including those animals hunted by the villagers or others).<sup>231</sup> An almost identical portrayal of hills of carcasses is used by Kemal Paşa-zāde, as well as Hasan Bey-zāde and Mehmed Neşri in their descriptions of battle scenes.

To denote the sheer number of animals on the hunting ground, the *Süleymannâme* of Ārifî too deploys a similar description of the hunting ground of Süleyman’s hunt after the siege of Belgrade, and writes that the hunting ground [at Uzuncaova] had turned into a forest of harts’ horns, and that the sultan made a hill by piling up dead animals.<sup>232</sup> Ārifî then continues with his description of the hunt itself. He writes that from that crowded, tremendous plain, emerged the lion-hearted shah, and turned towards that plain with such might that the plains were filled with fear. The shah, strong as a lion, fought

<sup>228</sup>

<sup>229</sup> R. 1280, fol. 79.

Ḥûn-ı şikârla ol taraflar lâlezârlara döndi.

<sup>230</sup> Kemal Paşa-zāde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, Vol. X, 87.

“Bād-ı cihâdile açılıb lāle-zār-ı fetḥ/Virdi şafâ hevâ-yı gâzâya bahâr-ı fetḥ/ Tîğ-i gâzâyı her ne arâya şalarsa Şâh/ Yur yâ yıkar ol diyârı aḳar cûy-bâr-ı fetḥ”

<sup>231</sup> Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü’l Tevârih*, Vol. II, 183-184.

“Ve bu dört şikârdan mâ ‘adâ vech-i meşrûh üzre yine maḥmiye-i mesfûre eṭrâfında kimi muḳaddem, kimi muaḥḥar tevâriḥ-ı muḥtelife ile on yedi şikâr vaḳı’ olub, zıkr olunan dört şikârda alınan şaydlar ile bunlarda alınanlar ki, defter-i mezbûrde mazbut ve şerâid-i beyânı kayd-ı şıḥḥat ile merbûtdur, cem‘an toḳuz yüz on beş şayd olmuştur. Fe emmâ bunlar şikâr ‘aḳabinde se‘âdetlü pâdişâhın nazarına gelenler olub, ‘ayyârân-ı şayd-rubâ ve ṭarrârân-ı meḥabâ kenârlardan götürdükleri ve yollarda iḥsân recâsı ile ḥayyen ve meyyiten getürüb, ‘arz itdikleri ile mecmû‘an biñ iki yüz ‘aded şayde yetiştüğü mu‘temedün ‘aleyhim kimesnelerden mesmû‘ ve esmâ‘ımız bu meḳûle ḥaber-i şaḥiḥ ile maḳrû‘dur.”

<sup>232</sup> *Süleymannâme*, H. 1517, fol. 117b.



on all grounds, in the manner that Bahram Gur had fought onagers.<sup>233</sup> The author then makes another comparison, following the examples of animal imagery, and writes, “With the fear of his sword, dragon-wrenching tigers had become cats searching the mousehole.”<sup>234</sup> Note that Mehmed Neşri had employed a similar, though converse imagery, putting in the mouth of Murad I that the enemies, the cats, felt themselves to be lions.

Ārifî’s depiction of the hunt is perhaps a portrayal of the epitome of Süleyman’s hunting and military prowess. The sultan is likened to Bizhan, to Rustem, and to Bahram Gur, the famed hunter of the *Shahnāma*, whose text Ārifî has alluded to in its formal qualities in his *Süleymannāme*. Seyyid Lokman, in the second volume of the *Hünernāme* also mentions that among the reasons for hunting is to prepare for ghaza, and to quell one’s lust for blood.<sup>235</sup> He writes that, Süleyman had a natural inclination to the hunt, a trait he had had from his grandfather, and he was also prone to ghaza. As such, hunting was a good alternative to purge himself of such inclinations.<sup>236</sup>

Ārifî writes that “whenever the sultan unsheathed his sword, he piled up dead bodies; many rose-coloured onagers had been killed, roses formed hills on earth”.<sup>237</sup> To the imagery of bodies of soldiers or animals piling up to form hills, Ārifî adds another layer by likening the colour of onagers to roses, and the hills of carcasses to hills of roses. Throughout the text, Ārifî employs a similar use of adjectives in describing the animals. On another of Süleyman’s hunts, this time by the river Menderes, “the meadows were covered with roses, with rose-coloured harts, the auspicious black hart had laid its neck to rest on the branch of a white willow.”<sup>238</sup> The sultan loosed his falcon on the “green-winged ducks.”<sup>239</sup> “With the claws of falcons and wings of birds, the meadows became all red, like the eyes of cranes; with the blood of the birds, mixing with the earth, the

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<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>235</sup> Zekeriya Eyüboğlu, *Hünernāme*, 30.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 136b.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 137a.

ground shone like rubies. So many wings had fallen from the sky that green wings sprouted by the feet of the “hunter shah.”<sup>240</sup> The leonine hound, like a hungry wolf, peirced into the haunches of onagers; they attacked with the heat of war.”<sup>241</sup> Note that both Koca Nişancı and Sâ’di bin ‘Abd ül Mû‘teâl had also compared the red earth to rubies, and portrayed the capture of birds as falling from the sky, either as wool or as autumn leaves. What is also interesting to note is how Ārifî compares the hounds to hungry wolves in their manner of attack, and to lions in their strength. Similar distinctions were also used in descriptions of battles, where the eager attack of the army is mostly portrayed by the attack of hungry wolves into a herd of sheep, and the strength or valour of the army, or a particular general, beg, sultan, is portrayed by the strength of the lion.

In a section devoted to writing about the hunting prowess of the sultan, Ārifî writes that the sultan prepared himself for the “battle,”<sup>242</sup> that with his lance, gave war its due; raised his sharp sword, he was like a lion come to hunt onagers; he became the shah of lions by hunting lions, he flung on the meadows the antelope’s head, horns, threw in the the lion’s heart and kidney.<sup>243</sup> Then, on the hunting ground appeared nine wild boars with piercing teeth seeking war. Those ferocious animals were like foxes before the lion, and the ‘lion-hunting shah’ killed all. But one boar that had tasted the sultan’s arrow had not withered away and, like a mountain, came towards the sultan. One of his chamberlains, a man named Hüsrev, battled the wild boar, but was tired. At that instant, another champion rode towards the battling man and boar, and with his sword, killed the beast, and was duly rewarded.<sup>244</sup>

Throughout Ārifî’s text, the hunt is denoted as ‘war’ or ‘battle,’ and the martial qualities of the sultan, or his close retinue, his soldiers, are emphasized. They are likened to lions, crocodiles, falcons, wolves, all ready to attack, or to hunt. As the hunt is a

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<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 137b.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 178b.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*

preparation for war, in most texts portraying the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent there is a close relationship between the hunt and the war, where both are depicted in similar terms, where the battle ground is the *şikārgāh-ı gazā*, or the ‘hunting ground of ghaza.’ The hunt itself is portrayed as battle. Both descriptions, of the hunt and of the battle, use similar terms, similar adjectives, that portray the martial and physical prowess of the actors, at the seeming prime of the Ottomans.

#### II.4. Self-sacrificing animals: a change of discourse

Some of the boon-companions and candid servants of the sovereign relate to this poor servant, that in the fall of the same year [1610] the exalted sultan with troops as numerous as the stars, rode towards the leisure-bearing garden known as *Davud Paşa bagcesi*, a garden reminiscent of Irem in its pleasant air, and of Khavarnaq in its buildings, with the aim of ease and excursion and fresh air. On the way, a poverty-stricken, poor-looking girl, called out in a dolorous voice, presenting a petition. The justice-sheltering sultan, thinking her to be a poor girl left by her husband, seeking justice, did not hesitate to stop in their procession with all its majesty and grandeur. When the girl told of her situation, they waited. It appeared, she was an honest girl, suffering from poverty, she told them. The generous sultan became aware of her situation. They filled her purse and hems full of gold and silver, and freed her from the clutches of poverty. It is told, addressing his servant in that place, he said, I have read in histories that my great forebear, Sultan Süleyman Han, may his ground be well, too, on the way back from a hunt, was stopped by a poor man, and he took out gold from his purse and gave it to him.<sup>245</sup>

<sup>245</sup> Mustafa Safi, *Zübdetü't Tevârih*, Vol. I, 94.

Menkıbe: Nüdemâ-i hâşş ve bendegân-o bâ-ihlâşdan ba'zı bu fakîre naql ü hikâyet ve kavlı-i haqq u kelâm-ı sıdk ile rivâyet itmişdür ki, yine târîh-i mezbûruñ faşl-ı harîfinde hazret-i pâdişâh-ı encüm-sipâh kesb-i şafâ vü tenezzüh ve şemm-i hevâ vü tereffüh için leîâfet-i hevâda bâğ-ı İrem ve 'imâret ü binâda havarnağ-ı 'Acem olub, Dâvûd Pâşâ bâğçesi dimekle ma'rûf bâğ-ı mûrîşü'l-ferâğa naql buyurudukları ser-i râhda şûret-i fakrde bir duhter ve fâka 'illeti ile bir fütâde ahter şavt-i hazîn ile 'rz-ı hâl ve şerm ü istihyâ ile ızhâr-ı mâ fi'l-bâl idicek, pâdişâh-ı 'adâlet-penâh anı bir dâd-hâh ve zâlim elinden hâli tebâh bir 'âcize zann itmegin ol kadar haşmet ve bunca şevket ile gider iken istinkâf itmeyüb, atın başın çekdiler. Ve mezbûre 'arz-ı hâl idince, meks itdiler. Meger ol duhter dest-i fakrden şikâyet ve hadd-i zâtında bir şerîfe idüğün hikâyet ider imiş. Çün pâdişâh-ı 'atâ-bağş anuñ hâline vakîf oldu. Ceyb ü dâmânını zer ü sîm ile pür ve ol şerîfe-i eşrefe-i ahter ile rîk-ı fakrden âzâd ü hür eylediler. Râvî eydür ki, “ol maħalde bu bendelerine hıttâb idüb, buyurdılar ki, cedd-i büzürgvârum merhûm ü mağfûr-ı leh Sultân Süleymân Hân tâbe şerâhü bir gün şikârdan gelür iken bunuñ gibi bir fakîre ser-i râhda turub, fakr ü fâkasını 'arz itdükde turub ve ceyblerinden altun çıkarub, virdüklerini kendülerine maşşûş olan kitâb-ı târîhlerinde yazılmış gördüm.”

This passage by Mustafa Sâfi, sultan Ahmed I's imam, and author of the *Zübdetü't Tevârih* brings to the surface one of many references to Süleyman the Magnificent. To Ahmed I, Süleyman was a major point of comparison.<sup>246</sup>

Tülay Artan, in her article “A *Book of Kings* Produced and Presented as a Treatise on Hunting” points out that “the reign and career of Süleyman the Lawgiver represented both a continuation of the hunting activities of his predecessors and, at least with regard to how those activities were portrayed, a turning point.”<sup>247</sup> He was an avid hunter and while not being consumed by a passion to hunt, he organized hunts, both as part of a ‘regal obligation’<sup>248</sup> and from a personal interest. He also took part in campaigns and devoted time to hunting before or after campaigns. During his reign, the hunt also found its way into royal manuscripts, especially the *Süleymannâme* and the *Hünernâme*, both of which abound with images of the royal hunt. Artan points out that “the *Hünernâme*, or Book of Talents, which was planned to expound on Süleyman I's military prowess, not only pictured him as *the* Ottoman royal hunter but also breathed new life into the hunting images of a few of his long-gone predecessors, such as Murad I, Beyazid I, Mehmed II, and Süleyman's father, Selim I.”<sup>249</sup> Narrative sources in this period also abound with references to the hunt and the hunter, not solely in descriptions of the royal hunt (which, oddly enough, are not as extensive as Mustafa Safi's account), but also in descriptions of war, stressing the relationship between the two.

<sup>246</sup> See Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübdetü't Tevârih*, Vol. 1, 71.

“...buyurdular ki, bundan aqdem küffâr gemilerinden bu kadar kâfir alınub, getürölmek vâkı olmuş mıdır? Anlar dağı bu vechile cevâb virdiler ki, pâdişâhum merhûm cennet-mekân Sultân Süleyman Hân ‘aleyhi ‘r-rahmetü ve rızvân hazretlerinin zemân-ı devletlerinde rû-yı deryâda kapudan olan Hayre’d-dîn Pğşâ küffârdan on iki pâre kadirğa alub, getürdügini bilürem. Ve bundan esbak kapudan olan Cigale-zâde Sinân Pğşâ yetmiş seksen kâfir getürmek olmuşdır. Emmâ bu kadar (kâfir) geldügi ma‘ lûmum degüldür. Râvî eydür ki, bu suâl ü cevâbdan sonra ben dağı pâdişâha du‘ â ve zebân-ı ‘aciz ile medh ü şenâ itdükden sonra eytdüm ki, merhûm Sultâ Süleymân ‘aleyhi rahmetü ‘r-rahmân zemân-ı saltanatlarında tersâne-i ‘âmireden ikiyüz ve gâh üçyüz ve dörtyüz pâre kadirğa çıkub, tonanur imiş Ol kadar kadirğa ile ol miqdâr kâfir gemisi alınmak çok degildür. Ve Cigale-zâde dağı mükemmel tonanmalar ile çıkub, bir kaç gemiler almışdır. Lakin aldügi gemiler ceng için müheyyâ olmayub, küffâr-ı füccârûn bâzîrgân u tüccârî gemileri idi. Ve alub getürdügü kâfirler merdân-ı cengî olmayub, bir bölük bâzârgân-ı Frengî idi. Emmâ se‘ âdetlü pâdişâhımuñ eyyâm-ı se‘ âdetlerinde her yılda huşûşâ bu senede alınan gemiler ki, istiḥkâm u metânetde birer ḳal‘ a-i âhenîn ve keşret-i ṭob u tüfenk ile birer gûh-ı âteşin olub ve içlerinde âlât-ı ceng ve ‘adedi ma‘ lûm degil bir bölük Frenkden ḡayri nesne olmayub, maḥzâ ceng için âmade ve mücerred neberd için mevzû‘ u nihâde idi.

Also see Rhoads Murphey, *Mustafa Safi*, 12.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, 301.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, 300.

Süleyman's son, grandson and great-grandson, were not, however, interested in hunting except as part of a duty. It was, Artan points out, "[w]ith Ahmed I (r.1603-1617) [that] the Ottoman royal hunt took another turn."<sup>250</sup> Like Süleyman the Magnificent, Ahmed I was an avid hunter, who perhaps took to the hunt a bit more than his forebear, so much so that he was out hunting when "the army and his grand vizier were embarking on a campaign to the western front"<sup>251</sup> "in early June 1604, six months after he had ascended the throne."<sup>252</sup> He often went on short hunting expeditions in the royal gardens in Üsküdar, Beykoz, Haramidere, Kağıthane, Fenerbahçe, Çatalca. He also organized large-scale battues followed by hunting feasts, mostly in the vicinity of Edirne.

In the winter of 1612 the sultan wished to conduct a battue. Nasuh Paşa, his grandvizier, wished to organize this battue (*şikārın tertibi*) and with around three hundred *bostancı*s as well as many villagers, rounded up the plains in Kurdkayası. The author here points out, in again a reference to Süleyman the Magnificent, that the animals had not seen or heard the wrath of hunters since the days of Süleyman.<sup>253</sup> Tents had been set up on a hill. The sultan was then notified that everything had been readied, and that all the wild animals had been moved from their 'beds' to Kurdkayası, and were 'ready to sacrifice themselves for the sultan of the world.'<sup>254</sup> It was a particularly cold winter but the sultan still hunted. Food had been prepared.<sup>255</sup> Everything and everyone, including the animals, was prepared *for* the sultan (so much so that Mustafa Sâfi puts in the mouth of the grandvizier a verse that is in effect a morning greeting.<sup>256</sup> )

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<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>252</sup> Artan, *Treatise on Hunting*, 302.

<sup>253</sup> Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübde'tü't Tevârih*, Vol. II, 174.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>255</sup> See Tülay Artan, "Feasting in Adversity: Enhancing the Ordinary" Unpub.paper presented at the 2007 annual meeting of MESA (Montreal, Nov.16-20, 2007).

<sup>256</sup> Mustafa Sâfi, *Zübde'tü't Tevârih*, Vol. II, 176.

"Ve çün vaqt-i şubh tülû'-ı şems ile tebyîn-i yevm ü ems itdi, vezîr-i a' zâm bendeleri gelüb, istikbâl ve rikâb-ı hümâyunlarına rûy-ı mâl olmak için iqbâl idüb, 'ale'l-vech'l-me'nûs dâmen-bûs olıcağ, ol şâh-ı Ferîdûn-sipâh hazretine hezâr i' tizâr ve zârâ' at-i bî-şümâr ile 'arz-ı envâ-ı niyâz ve ızhâr-ı iftikâr u igvâz eyleyüb, eyitdi ki, Merhabâ sultân-ı 'âlem merhabâ şâh-ı güzîn/Merhabâ iy mâh-ı devlet merhabâ iy şems-i dîn/Mağdemoñ iy şâh-ı heft-iqlîm 'izzetdür baña/Hâk-i pâyîn tûtiyâ-yi dîdedür iy pāk-bîn/Cennet olmışdur bu şahrrâ çünki teşrif eylediñ/Resk iderse gam degil aña eger çarğ-ı berîn/Eyledüm ihzâr bir 'âli-mağâmı zâtuña/Kim olur manzûruñ andan cümleten rûy-i zemîn/Hazır oldu mâ hazâr kim hân-ı luftuñdur yine/Heb seniñdür ni' met iy sultân-ı bâ-taht u nigîn/Eylesem nağd-i dil ü cânı nişâr-ı mağdemoñ/Piş-keş olmaya illâ bir metâ' ı kemterîn/Hâliyâ maşşur olupdur cünd-i vaşş-i bî-kıyâs/İy Süleymân-ı zemân hükmüñ revân it gel hemîn."

The sultan was also brought by the villagers animals they had caught in exchange for gratuities, and the animals were piled in front of him ‘like hills.’ A similar metaphor had frequently been used by Kemal Paşa-zāde, and also by Sa’di b. Abd ül Mû‘teal. However, the way the pile of animal carcasses is portrayed is no longer one through a fierce battle, but is the outcome of a leisurely hunt.<sup>257</sup>

While Ahmed I “modeled himself on Süleyman I,”<sup>258</sup> there seems to be a change in the discourse of the royal hunt, that is no longer portrayed as a generic battle scene, but a very detailed account that emphasizes other aspects of the sultan, though at times, trying to maintain connections with Süleyman the Magnificent through comparisons, and still maintain the idea of the ideal ruler.

The text, written by Mustafa Sâfi, Sultan Ahmed I’s imam, is composed of two volumes, the first of which is “an account of the person of the sultan”<sup>259</sup> and describes the various virtues of Ahmed I in an exceedingly laudatory manner. The second volume deals with the events of the period. Rhoads Murphey, in his short study on the text of the *Zübdetü’l Tevârîh*, points out several recurrent themes, that can be found within Mustafa Safi’s descriptions of the hunt as well. A section of the first volume is devoted to the royal hunt. The young sultan is presented as an able hunter, one, when no one else can bear the cold, can still go out to hunt, stressing his physical strenuity and perseverance. He is also a just sultan. While Mustafa Safi devotes quite a number of folios to examples of Ahmed I’s ‘sultanic justice,’ this theme is also apparent in anecdotes from his hunting expeditions, where the sultan allows a “fatally trapped boar to escape in the wild as a demonstration of his *merhamet* and *mukerremet*. Balancing this act of clemency, he is shown in another anecdote eliminating a wild boar caught roaming in the vicinity of Fenerbahçe because its behaviour threatened the residents while also inflicting damage on their crops.”<sup>260</sup> Murphey stresses the idea of ‘fitness to rule,’ that is prevalent in the section devoted to the royal hunt. The young sultan is portrayed as an

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<sup>257</sup>Tülay Artan also points out that the animals bagged at the battue at Çölmek/Çömlek were quite modest in terms of a royal hunt, and suggests that Ahmed I used the hunt as a leisurely and elite pastime that would also have the purpose of “show[ing] off his military prowess in the absence of opportunities for (potentially) victorious campaigns during his reign.” See Artan, *Treatise on Hunting*, 302.

<sup>258</sup> Artan, *Treatise on Hunting*, 302.

<sup>259</sup> Murphey, *Mustafa Safi*, 24.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

able king who had trained himself, not through the usual governorship in the provinces,<sup>261</sup> but through practice in the hunt, which also works to show that “although [he] had not yet personally led any campaigns, he had all the requisite abilities to do so in the fullness of time.”<sup>262</sup> Perhaps in comparison with the actual martial successes of Süleyman the Magnificent, Ahmed I’s hunting successes were shows of potential.

It must not be seen, however, that Ahmed I was solely interested in hunting. At least, that is what Mustafa Sâfi, in a rather apologetic manner, tries to show. He writes that the hunt had a threefold function: by hunting, he was fulfilling God’s will, he was striking “fear into the heart of the state’s enemies caused by the appearance of the sultan near the frontiers of his realm” and he was learning about “the state of his realms.”<sup>263</sup> Indeed, in the two volumes of his book, the author tries to show these by examples. He writes that Ahmed I frequently hunted to observe the subjects, and as noted above, tried to help them. His encounters on the hunt were not only with the subjects but with foreign ambassadors, who he greatly impressed one time when his falcons caught many birds.<sup>264</sup> In addition to the three-fold reasoning, the author was also careful to point out, lest any doubts remain, that the sultan was also very pious and would not miss his daily prayers even on the hunt. He writes:

It is again reported to this poor man by the above-mentioned servant Hüseyin that, one day, the felicitous sultan was in the vicinity of Üsküdar, and riding a quick-footed horse fast as the wind, and with several of his servants, turned towards Fenerbagçe, with several of his servants, with the aim of hunting. They made their way to the shore. Then came the time of noon-worship. Looking at the time, they made

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<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>263</sup> Murphey, *Mustafa Safi*, 10.

Mustafa Safi, *Zübdetü’l Tevârih*, Vol. II, 184.

“Evvelen budur ki, işbu maqâleşadrında zıkr olunduğı gibi anlar sâye-i Haqq ve zıll-i vücûd veya ‘ademine meyl ü rûkûnleri mücerred emr-i İlâhî ve ilhâm-ı Haqqânî ile olub, bu mekûle umûra mübâşeretlerine ‘illet, irâdet-i İlâhiyye ve meşîyyet-i Rabbâniyyedir. Ve şâniyen germ ü serd ve behâr u zimistân ve harr u berd dimeyüb, bu gûne hareket ile şugûr-ı İslâmiyye ve hudûd-ı memâlik-i sulţâniyye civârında vâkı‘ olan a‘dâ-yı dîn ve bed-hâh-ı mezheb-i haqq-ı bâ-yâkîne ilkâ-i ru‘b ü haşyet ve îrâş-i hayret ü dehşetdir. Ve şâlişen ahvâl-i memleketi tefehhüs ve etvâr-ı ecnâs-ı ra‘iyyeti tecessüs olub, aqtâr-ı arzda sâkin ve etrâf-ı memâlikde mütemekkin olub, dest-i zulm ü ‘udvânile âzürde ve deste-çûb-i zaleme ile let-ğorde olan re‘âyâ vü berâyâya ki, pây-ı taht-ı Koştanîniyye’de ‘arz-ı ahvâl anlara nisbetile kemâl-i şu‘ûbet ü işkâl üzredür.”

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 151.

“Ve çün ol aralıkda kâfir elçileri hâzır ve hşret-i pâdişâhın bu kerâmet-i zâhiresine nâzırlar idi, her birisi hayrân ve neş’e-i te‘accüb ü tehayyür ile sekrân olub, gitdiler. Ve sulţân-ı ehl-i îmândan gördükleri emr-i ‘acîb-i a‘mâk-ı dârü’l-küfre iletüb, neşr itdiler.”

The importance of increased accessibility on the hunt is also noted by Maximilian I in his *Weiskunig*. See Maximilian I, *Weiskunig*, 233.

sure it was time. They dismounted their horses to perform their prayers. There, the servants inquired that, as they had not brought a flask or an ewer, how they could do their ablutions with salty water. And no prayer rug had been taken. How could one perform the daily prayers on the soil. And, besides, should we get off our horses, who would hold them? And should no one hold them, who would catch them? Uttering such artful chicaneries, they attempted to postpone the prayer. Not taking notice, they dismounted. Arriving at the shore, they did their ablutions with the bitter water. And so we too, both willingly and unwillingly made to wash ourselves with the seawater, and several tied their horses. And when we were done with the ablutions, they dallied. Verily, this departure had not been planned. No prayer rug was brought along. One of the servants had brought a clean cloth; he spread it on the ground so that the prayer could be performed on it. The sultan brushed aside the cloth with his hand. And with humility, he performed the noon prayers on dry ground. Then mounting the horses again, made their way to the garden.<sup>265</sup>

Thus, the sultan who was busy hunting when his sons were born (that is at the birth of all his sons, he happened to be hunting),<sup>266</sup> is portrayed as a pious and martial ruler who is also just and who listens to his subjects, and helps them out, as Süleyman the Magnificent had done. He is, in effect, portrayed as the Solomon of the Time (*Süleymân-ı zemân*), as Süleyman the Magnificent had done himself,<sup>267</sup> he is also depicted as the Alexander of the world (*İskender-i devran*).

<sup>265</sup> Mustafa Safi, *Zübdetü't Tevârih*, Vol.I, 38.

“Menkıbe: Yine mezbûr Hüseyn bendeleri rivâyet ve bu fakîre hikâyet eyledi ki, bir gün se‘âdetlü pâdişâh *eyyede hü‘llâhü te‘âlâ ve kavvâhü* hazretleri cânib-i Üsküdâr’da iken bir bâd-pây-ı şabâ-reftâra süvâr ve bende vü hıdmet-kâr kısmından bir âzacık kimse ile behâne-i şikâr ile ‘âzim-i geşt ü güzâr olub, Fenârbâğçe’si tarafına teveccüh buyurdılar. Çün yolları sâhil-i deryâya irişdi. Vakt-i zuhr dahî gelüb, yitişdi. Ve çün sâ‘ate nazar idüb, vaktiñ duhûlini taḥkîk itdiler. Nemâzı vakt-i evvelde edâ idelüm deyü atdan indiler. Bu maḥalde rikâb-ı hümayûnlarında bulunan bendegân pâdişâhum ibriḳ u maḥara yok âb-ı telḥ ile nice tevazzî idersiz. Ve seccâde götürülmedi. Toprak üstünde nemâzı ne keyfiyyet ile kılursuz. Hüşûşan biz dahî âbdest içün insek bizüm âtları kim tutar? Ve tutmayub, şalı virsek anlara kim yiter deyü olḳadar ki, leṭâif-i hıyel ile Fenârbâğçe’sine varınca nemâzı te’ḥîr itdürmege sa’y itdiler. Aşla iltifât buyurmayub, atdan indiler. Ve deryâ kenârına varub, âb-ı şûr ile tevazzî itdiler. Biz dahî tav‘an ev kerhen deryâ şuyı ile âb-deste teveccüh idicek bi’l-lâhi’l-âzîm bir niçesün âtları Çilburın’a dest-i a‘dâ-şikesti ile yapışub, tutdılar. Ve biz vuzûdan fâriḡ olunca meḳş itdiler. Ve çün fi’l-ḥaḳîka bu ‘âzîmetleri def’aten olub, ‘aceleten bilinmiş idi. Seccâde kısmından nesne götürülmemiş idi. Pes huddâmdan biri bir pâkîze maḳreme getirüb, şalâti üzerinde edâ itsünler deyü yaydı. Ta’llâhi’l-kerîm mübârek eliile maḳremei yabana atdı. Ve tevâzu‘an li’llâhi te‘âlâ şalât-i zuhrı kuru yer üzerinde edâ itdi. Ba‘dehü süvâr olub, se‘âdetile bâğçe tarafına gitdi.

<sup>266</sup> See Artan, *Treatise on Hunting*, 324.

<sup>267</sup> On the formation of an image with allusions to Solomon see Gülru Necipoğlu, “Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation” *Muqarnas* 3, 1985: 92-117.



### CHAPTER III: REAL HEROES OF THE LEGEND

Walter Burkert points out that “for the ancient world, hunting, sacrifice and war were symbolically interchangeable,”<sup>268</sup> each had to do with the ruler’s ‘power to kill.’ Such interchangeability could be observed in text during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, between hunting and war. An offshoot of these interchangeable rituals can be observed in miniatures of this period as well, in the depictions of the “ancient Iranian themes of *bazm u razm*, hunting, feasting and battle.”<sup>269</sup> As images of royalty and sovereignty, hunting, feasting and battle find their way into many manuscripts of the period, both Iranian and Ottoman, to such an extent that these scenes could serve as frontispieces or endpieces, out of context with the text itself, but as generic symbols of sovereignty. These generic scenes of royal hunts, as well as other hunting scenes, especially in Firdowsi’s early eleventh-century Persian epic, *Shāhnāma*, a favourite reference point for the Ottoman elite, serve as a format for depictions of Ottoman royal hunts. In a way, the construct of the ‘hunter-sultan’ in text can also be found in the miniatures that portray the sultan during hunts. It is during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, that ‘epitome of the royal hunter,’ that images of the royal hunt are

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<sup>268</sup>Walter Burkert, “The Function and Transformation of Ritual Killing” in *Readings in Ritual Studies*, Ed. Ronald Grimes, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1996): 62-67.

<sup>269</sup>Eleanor Sims, “The Illustrated Manuscripts of Firdausi’s *Shāhnāma* Commissioned by Princes of the House of Tîmûr,” *Ars Orientalis* 22, (1993), 46.

increasingly included in royal luxury manuscripts. These can also be seen as constructs of an image of the sultans, as hunters, for as with text and choice of words, the choice of what scene to portray and how to portray it suggests much.

The official history of Süleyman the Magnificent, the *Süleymannâme*, and the book of talents, the *Hünernâme*, in this case, are quite telling, as these two luxury manuscripts abound with images of the royal hunt, and portray a certain image of the sultan not unlike having the qualities of the Iranian themes of *bazm u razm*. These two manuscripts are also important in the sense that the Ottomans for the most part lacked the medieval European or Arabic illustrated hunting manuals and treatises, so the images serve a double-function, from our point of view, of providing an idea about the royal hunt, the people, weapons and animals involved, as well as serving as constructs of an image of the ‘hunter-sultan.’

That Ârifî, in his text, should portray Süleyman hunting lions and onagers ‘like Bahram Gur’ must have meant something to the courtly audience of the *Süleymannâme*, who were also probably versed in the *Shāhnāma* tradition, and its heroes. And when such a ‘description’ of the royal hunt is coupled with an image (fig. 20), we can perhaps see Süleyman the Magnificent embodied as Bahram Gur. Kemal Paşa-zāde too is aware of that tradition and thinks Ibrahim Paşa’s martial valour in Pétervárad is worthy of note and could surpass those of the heroes of the *Shāhnāma*. Mustafa Sāfi is also careful to make connections with the *Shāhnāma*, especially within the context of hunting and Ahmed I’s prowess in archery. He is likened to Rustam, to Feridun, to Cemshid, and to Iskender.

It is not only in text that one finds references to the *Shāhnāma* (mostly in the titles given to the sultans) but especially in image. The tales of legendary and quasi-historical rulers and heroes from the pre-historic times to the seventh-century Iran certainly excited the different audiences and also served as reference points to rulers who wished to be portrayed just as valourous as a Rustam or an Iskender. The tales of the *Shāhnāma* as well as other Persian tales such as the *Khamsas* of Nizami or Emir Khusraw Dihlavi found favour also in the Ottoman court, where translations of such works were

commissioned or bought. In terms of depictions of royal hunts and especially in terms of compositional format, these works provided one source of influence, among others.

That Şah Sultan, the sister of Süleyman the Magnificent, had two copies of the *Khamasa* of Nizami dated to 1538-40 and 1540, from Shiraz<sup>270</sup> testifies to the interest the Ottoman elite had in Persian tales and epics in luxury manuscripts. Such manuscripts were also used as gift items, and when in 1568 Shah Tahmasp presented Selim II with a large, richly illustrated *Shāhnāma* (now known as the *Houghton Shāhnāma*, after Arthur Houghton who acquired the manuscript in 1957<sup>271</sup>) the interest in the *Shāhnāma* as well as Safavid illuminated manuscripts increased, especially during the reign of the bibliophile sultan Murad III. But interest in the *Shāhnāma* goes earlier than the Shah Tahmasp *Shāhnāma*. One of the earliest Ottoman Turkish translations of the Persian *Shāhnāma* was undertaken at the order of Murad II in 1450 or 1451.<sup>272</sup> The three illustrated copies of this translation were done, based on stylistic observations, in the second half of the 16th century.<sup>273</sup> Another, a verse version of Şerif Amidi, composed at the request of Qansuh al-Gawri completed in 1511 probably came to the Ottoman court as booty when Selim I defeated the Mamluks.<sup>274</sup> A copy of this translation was illustrated probably in 1546 by one of the painters of the *Süleymannāme*, identified as Painter B.<sup>275</sup> A later illustrated copy is thought to have been done by Nakkaş Osman in the 1560s,<sup>276</sup> who also did several of the illustrations of the first volume of the *Hünernāme*.<sup>277</sup> Nakkaş Osman's serial portraits of sultans in the *Kıyafetü'l-insāniye fi şemā'ilü'l-osmāniye* (TPML, H. 1563) too might have served as examples for the portrayal of shahs of the translated *Shāhnāmas*.<sup>278</sup>

As with the texts, images too arise from multifarious exchanges, and influences and intertextual relations are hard to establish. Still, the various references within the texts

<sup>270</sup> Lale Uluç, "Selling to the Court: Late Sixteenth Century Manuscript Production in Shiraz" *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 73-96,

<sup>271</sup> For more on the Houghton Shahnama see Stuart Cary Welch, *A King's Book of Kings: The Shah-nameh of Shah Tahmasp*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972).

<sup>272</sup> Serpil Bağcı, *Translated Word*, 165.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>277</sup> See Nigar Anafarta, *Hünername Minyatürleri ve Sanatçıları*,

<sup>278</sup> Serpil Bağcı, *Translated Word*, 172.

to the Persian epic of the legendary kings find similar references within the images, especially in terms of compositional format. It must also be noted, however, that manuscript production is a matter of team-work where different artists, calligraphers, illuminators work on different aspects of production. It is often the case that illustrations are also done by a group of artists, so it is not possible to talk simply of a ‘Persian’ influence, but rather a mixture of influences. Still, in terms of acting as a ‘mirror for princes’ and a basis for a comparison with ‘legendary’ kings the influence of the *Shāhnāma* on Ottoman manuscripts is undeniable, and adds to the several layers of ‘image-making’ of sultans.

Ārifî, in his *Süleymannāme*, follows the format of the *Shāhnāma* and is composed in Persian. Rather than compose a work about legendary heroes, however, Ārifî writes about the deeds of Süleyman the Magnificent. It is richly illustrated, and contains many hunting and battle scenes. A hunting scene in the *Süleymannāme*, depicting Süleyman hunting with his şehzade, Selim, in the winter of 1553-54 in Aleppo (fig. 25), done by a painter, denoted by Esin Atıl as Painter A is an interesting example of a mixture of influences. Esin Atıl suggests that Painter A’s style shows Herati and Tabrizi elements, but that he also ‘relies on older models for the basic structure of some of his repetitive compositions, such as receptions in tents and pavilions, battles and hunts.’<sup>279</sup> She also points out that this particular artist also worked with another, a Painter D, on scenes involving Iranians, and a Painter E, who was more versed in the painting of Eastern European figure types.<sup>280</sup>

This particular scene portraying Süleyman hunting with Selim follows the Persian compositional format of a high horizon. It is set on three registers of multi-coloured hills. Hierarchically placed, Süleyman is portrayed on the top left of the composition, seated on a grey horse, holding a falcon, looking rather sombre, for his son Cihangir had recently died, following the execution of his other son, Mustafa. The sultan is surrounded by his *solaks* and *peyks*, as well as mounted *Has Oda ağas*. In the centre of the composition Selim, riding a black horse and reining him in, slashes a gazelle, while his companions attack a lion, and lasso a buck. The central composition follows a circular movement with the turning bodies of the young *şehzāde*, as well as his horse,

<sup>279</sup>Atıl, *Süleymannāme*, 69.

<sup>280</sup>*Ibid.*, 73.

and his companion lassoing a buck, completed by two other companions striking a lion, with a sword, at the same time shooting arrows. The curved body of the gazelle as it is being cut into two, is followed by the sword, the curve of the *şehzāde*'s arms, and the neck and body of his horse. This circular motion is repeated with the hound chasing a fox that is almost taunting the dog, looking back at him, a hare and doe running, while two other hounds bite into the lassoed buck. This is perhaps one of the livelier hunting scenes of the *Süleymannāme*, where the action is not limited to the depiction of the moment of slaying an animal, but shows a moment of chase.

In the lowest register one can perhaps find the influence of Painter E in the portrayal of hunters shooting an arrow at a doe, and another carrying a hare on a stick on his shoulder, with a dog on a leash trying to grab the hare (fig. 26). A similar detail can be found on a late Gothic fresco from the village church of the Holy Trinity in Hrastovlje, in present day Slovenia (fig. 27).

Another hunting scene (fig. 28) by this Painter A depicts Süleyman at the very centre of the composition, on a high-set, almost triangular golden-green hill with tufts of grass and flowers, and a solitary tree (perhaps signifying a forest). The sultan wearing a blue and red brocaded kaftan and a turban with an aigrette, on his dappled grey horse, has turned back to shoot an arrow at a deer. Surrounding the sultan are his *peyks*, watching him, and mounted officers and companions, all forming a circle around him, perhaps suggesting the circular formation of the hunting ground itself.

Yet another hunting scene by Painter A (figs. 29-30) shows Süleyman hunting with his sons Mehmed and Selim along the Vardar river. The scene is again set by three multi-coloured hills and the action is set on these different layers. On the lower register the two *şehzādes*, “who were like lions on horseback,”<sup>281</sup> wearing luxurious brocaded kaftans, and turbans with aigrettes have attacked a wild boar with their swords. A dog with a gold chain around his neck runs along the river, in front of which is a tree stump, adding a sense of depth. The sultan, accompanied by his *solaks* and *peyks* and *has oda ağas*, watches the *şehzādes* hunt. On the top register, *peyks* line, in a circular form, suggesting the circular enclosure of the hunting ground.

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<sup>281</sup> Ārifī, *Süleymannāme*, TPML, H. 1517, fol. 403a.

The hunting scenes of Painter A, compared to those of Painter B, are more crowded, more lively, with an attention to capturing the event itself. This Painter A is also thought to be the master of Nakkaş Osman,<sup>282</sup> and perhaps the portrayal of the sombre appearance of Süleyman the Magnificent as he is hunting with Selim after the death of his two sons (fig. 25), is one aspect Nakkaş Osman might have learned from this painter, that when he painted his version of a scene from the *Shāhnāma*, of Rustam killing his son Suhrab (fig. 31), he adds a sense of grief to the image as Suhrab's groom 'almost collapses with grief.'<sup>283</sup>

Compared to the lively hunting scenes of Painter A that has a penchant for observation, the only hunting scene of Painter C (fig. 32) could have served as a generic image of a royal hunt in a Persian manuscript, save the Ottoman types of the *peyks* and *has oda ağas*.<sup>284</sup> Sparsely figured, the scene is set against a high blue hill with odd looking rock forms, and tufts of grass and blooming flowers. At the centre of the composition is Süleyman on a dappled gray horse with golden trappings. He is wearing a short blue kaftan over a green and red inner garment, perhaps a more comfortable outfit for the hunt. He is shooting an arrow at a deer which has collapsed. Other deers and bucks run, but look rather static, as compared to the animals done by Painter A. Behind the sultan is a peyk with a knee-length garment and bejewelled conic hat, and earring.

While the different influences in the miniatures of the *Süleymannāme* are hard to establish, in its compositional format it is closer to the Persian model of royal hunts, than the *Hünernāme*, which is again richly illustrated and contains many hunting scenes. The *Hünernāme*, portraying the deeds and talents of Süleyman the Magnificent, and in retrospect, his forbears, is itself a testament to the 'image-making' of Süleyman the Magnificent, who is compared to Mehmed II, for example, who failed to capture the fortress of Belgrade, and whose failure is included in the first volume of the *Hünernāme*, in comparison with the success of Süleyman in capturing Belgrade, recently after his accession.

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<sup>282</sup> Esin Atıl, *Süleymannāme*, 66.

<sup>283</sup> Bağcı, *Translated Word*, 169.

Also see Bağcı, "An Iranian Epic and an Ottoman Painter: Nakkaş Osman's 'New' Visual Interpretation of the *Shāhnāmāh*."

<sup>284</sup> Atıl, *Süleymannāme*, 172.

In the Book of Talents, the hunting scenes take up an important portion, the hunt, as a sign of sovereignty and kingly sport and talent. Murad I is, for example, portrayed as striking a wolf that has been covered in plate armour (fig. 33). He is accompanied with a large retinue of companions and *peyks* and *has oda ağas*. He has also probably showed his prowess in archery by shooting at a target (fig. 34). This in effect, reads like a testament to Murad I's prowess in hunting and archery.

The hunt also offered the opportunity to meet the subjects, to hear their complaints, observe the situation and at times, where necessary incur punishment. Çelebi Mehmed, for example, is portrayed on the way to the Wallachian campaign, hunting along the way, and punishing those who have been caught stealing honey (fig. 35). The scene shows the sultan's justice, suggesting that 'a day of justice is worth more than seventy years of worship.'<sup>285</sup> In Urusçuk, by the Danube, the sultan learns that some people have been stealing honey. His officer, İsa Bey, is appointed with the task of finding out the culprit who has been captured. The woman, her daughter and husband are portrayed in local costume. The sultan is wearing a richly brocaded kaftar and holds a falcon that has a gold chain around his neck, as does the falcons of the two companions. In the background, the village, with its church and houses with smoke coming from its chimneys is depicted. It is not always acts of justice that are portrayed but odd events, like a woman presenting a basket of pomegranates to Süleyman the Magnificent, where the pomegranates are cut and checked by an official first (figs. 36-37), or a priest handing Lala Mustafa Paşa an odd-looking skull (figs. 38-39).

Perhaps the depiction of Selim I hunting crocodiles by the river Nile after his eastern campaigns (fig. 40) sums up the importance such images had in the construction of the 'image' of the ruler. Selim I is shown seated on his portable throne sheathing his sword after having beheaded a crocodile and severely wounding another one. Behind him are the two *has oda ağas* and watching him are three men, while three others row away on a boat.

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<sup>285</sup> Serpil Bağcı, et al. *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı*, 142.

## CONCLUSION:

From the preparation, organization and ceremonial that surrounds the royal hunt, to its martial qualities that separate the ruler from the others, from its geography and visibility or invisibility, from the idea of the subject's accessibility (albeit limited) to the ruler, the royal hunt was one way of portraying sovereignty. Much of the idea of sovereignty lay with the idea of the ruler's 'power to kill.' The actual hunt itself was one way of portraying sovereignty. The loud and large retinue of the royal hunters, with rolling drums and bells that made their presence known to the subjects gave the ruler the opportunity to display his grandeur and prowess to his subjects, as well as control and observe his territories, and gave the subjects the opportunity to see the ruler, and pose their complaints to him. This hunt, also showed the ruler's ability to organize and govern. Its hierarchical format highlighted the status of the ruler. The exclusivity and hierarchy of the hunt could also be posed by hunting in royal gardens that were geared towards an idea of secrecy and exclusivity.

To this 'physical' hunt, another layer of meaning is added with references to the hunt in text and image. That the royal hunt was a show of power and sovereignty was reflected in text, where the sultans, and more pronouncedly, Süleyman the Magnificent and Ahmed I, were portrayed as accomplishing almost miraculous hunting feats, to match the skills of the famed hunters and warriors of the *Shahnāma*. Much of the ruler's sovereignty and power also had to do with the idea of 'image-making.' The hunt, therefore, provided another means of 'image-making' for the rulers. It was a kingly prerogative. And the different aspects of the royal hunt, from its organizational aspects to encounters with the subjects to pure military prowess to acting out God's will, provided the opportunity to use these in the construction of 'images' for the rulers. Thus, the royal hunt was used in different means during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent and Ahmed I, albeit, linking the two together. Along with the different discourses of the royal hunt in text, the image too offered a possibility of 'image-making,' not only in portraying the military might of the ruler or his grandeur, but in making subtle compositional references to the epic of the *Shahnama* that had served as a 'mirror for princes' and a source of aspiration for the 'real' rulers.



As such Ottoman narrative sources too made use of the idea of the royal hunt to construct an image of the ‘hunter’ sultan. This construct, however, was more prominent in the sources narrating the reigns of Süleyman the Magnificent and Ahmed I. In the case of Süleyman the Magnificent, this image was a particularly martial one, one that showed his military prowess in battle and in the hunt. The hunt also was one key reference point to forge connections between Ahmed I and Süleyman the Magnificent. In the case of Ahmed I, the hunt provided a means of portraying the sultan’s sense of justice, compassion, power, as well as piety.

What was highly pronounced during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent was the martial quality to the hunt: the hunt portrayed as battle, and conversely, the battle portrayed as a hunt. The martial prowess and military successes of Süleyman the Magnificent were reflected in his successes in the hunt, and the hunt was also portrayed as a preparation for war, as well as a means of quelling the sultan’s lust for ghaza. The portrayal of the royal hunt in narrative sources during the reign of Ahmed I, however, were quite different from those of the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent. Ahmed I was constantly compared to Süleyman the Magnificent, in his almost miraculous hunting feats, that, in effect, promised a yet unobserved military success. The hunt, and the person of Süleyman the Magnificent, his munificence and justice, as well as his hunting prowess formed a link between the two rulers, despite the changing discourse in the portrayal of the royal hunt.

This thesis therefore has concentrated on the different layers of meaning and different discourses of the royal hunt and as such favoured narrative sources and visual material, over archival sources. It offered a particular approach to the topic of the royal hunt; an exercise, in effect, in the use of narrative and visual sources to delve into the construct of the idea of the ‘hunter-sultan.’

The use of narrative sources in particular allows for different interpretations. Any aspect of the royal hunt could be accentuated and form the basis of further study on its own. From the particular approach of looking at the royal hunt during the reigns of Süleyman the Magnificent and Ahmed I, with an emphasis on the construct of an image of the ‘hunter-sultan,’ the thesis did not look at other issues surrounding the royal hunt, from animals hunted, to the institution of the royal hunt, to the hunt as a rite of passage,

as a preparation for war, to hunting parties and culinary culture, etc. Certainly, further research making the use of archival sources, as well as examples and sources from the reigns of other sultans might provide a fuller idea of how the royal hunt was used in different contexts.

## APPENDIX I:

TPML, R.1277, Sâ' di b.Abd el Mute'al, *Selimnâme*, c. 1540s-50s  
Fol. 172

[172b] beyan ider. Zamâir-i ulu'l-elbaya puşîde degildir ki nefis-i insanı  
çün baht-u sa' âdetin ya mergû-u devletin üstüvâr kûhe bâ' zı ahvâl-i  
sürûr bahşê mâ' il olub ef' al civar-ı efzaya mübâşeret iktizâsın eyler huşuşa  
selatin-i cihan ve asâtin-i zamânın nüfûs-u 'âlilerinde ferman-ı mu' tâlarında  
cümle umur-u devlet müheyya olub baht ve kamraniydi felek gibi bir vefk meram  
olunmuşdur nezd-i şahânîlerine lâıyk ve münâsıb budur ki hemîşe hâtır-ı haâtırları  
âyîne gibi mücellâ âb-ı nâb gibi muzafâ olub bu sıfatın in' ikâsından kulûb-u  
berayaya dâhî inşirahı kemâl hâsıl ola. “اذا همر السلطان تهمرا زمانبنا علمذليك”

çün baht kaid ve devlet müsaid olub şah-ı alem-penah  
ıkballe mahruse-i Edirne'ye mülaki oldu. İttifak avan-ı şita karib olub  
sayd zamanı idi ber muceb-i “اذا حلتهم”

hâtır-ı âtîrinde

davâ-i şayda temâşâ gâlib olub sâika-i nüfus ahlâk-ı şehriyârân  
dil-âgâh olmagın şikâr-ı 'azîm itmege tâlib oldu fermân-ı kaza-i cereyanı  
üzre nevahi-i Edirne'de [.....] demekle ma'ruf saydgahda  
şikâr-ı a' zîm itmekiçün âfâka i' lâm idüb nidâ-yı am eylediler ta' mām  
bir niçe günlük yoldan bir niçe biñ kimesne ile tağ ve taşu kuşadub  
vuḥûş u tıyûrun zıkr olan şikârgâha toğru sürdüler. Tahmin olunan yevm-i

[172a] mübârekde hazret-i pâdişâh-ı gerdun-penâh rahş-ı devletine ki eyyâm-ı evanî gibi  
ferah bahş u gem zedâyî idi. Anı süvâr olub ıkballe erdi ol şaydgâh  
içre bu kaza-yı şayda karar eyledi. Vaqt-i mev' ûd erişüb ol eṭrâf  
ve cevânibden âdem derya-yı müheyyüc ide başladı bir pür hay-ı huy teka  
ve gâvga ile ol eṭrâf mâl-a-mâl olucağ ol sadâların mehâbetinden heva  
yüzünde uçan kuşların perr ü bâli ḥazan yaprağı gibi yerlere döküldü. Ḥazret-i  
pâdişâh-ı 'âlem-penâh olduğı şahrâ cevânibin küşâde itdiler. Ol taraftan  
meydan virilmişdi. Ol bir niçe günlük yoldan sürülü gelen vuḥûş  
ve tıyûr çün eṭrâf-ı benî-' âdem alub meydân-ı vus' âtleri teng olduğına  
şu' ûr itdi nâ-gâh ol müsâreme' in nüfûs bisyâd içre olan hay-ı huy-u  
gâvga tekâyubdan ürküb tamam bir niçe bir canavar birden ḥazret-i  
pâdişâh-ı 'âlem-penâh olduğı cânibe toğru perîşân oldu sek-  
tazılarıñ avazları ile esb-tazileriñ şadâ-yı ḥavâfir-i dervâze-i  
semevata çıkub ol anda kopan avazadan şur-ı zemîn ürküb  
ol fezaya tamam tezelsül virdi **Naẓm** Girdi vahşîler içine velvele  
Viridiler ol tağ ve taşu zelzele Her nev' den çıkdı alay-ı vuḥûş  
Her taraftan kurd u kuş eyledi ḥuruş Şaldı âhular seyirdim her yanı

[173b]

Vardı geldi yer ki gerşundanı şuna Kırtları [.....] aldı ala

Canı çıktı dört yana varakla [.....] gördi cün dubehzar  
[.....] her yana cevlahvar Çesta idi harguş bindügi semend  
Keçmeden giri daği bilmezdi fend Düşdi vahşiler yatağından berağ  
Geldi mürğa aşyanından ferağ Canavar ayağından yeryüzünün bir katı soyuldu

Gönüllere ağan tozlar uçub gelen tıyûr-u âayda banağ oldu. Gün yüzünden  
Hareket-i h' abı dafi' olub tazılarıñ bendi alınub bāzlar şalındı.  
Ol vuhuş u tıyur içine velvele düşüb birbirine koyuldular. Tazılarıñ  
dendānı hançer-i hunfeşān olub bāzileri minkādı niştar-damar  
oldu. Canavarlar kanı ile ol āahrılar fezā-yı bedehşāna dönüb  
kaṭrāt-ı hūnla pūr lā' l ü yavākit oldu. Ol derya-yı hūn içre dem ālūd  
olub yatan āhūlar boynuzundan mercan şah enderşahla doldu.  
Ol hūnuñ göglere şu' ūd iden buharındañ kenarı asman şekl-i şafakda  
perde-i hamra bürüdü. Hāzret-i pādīşāh-ı 'ālem-penāh ki tiğ-i hūnrız ve gahi [.....]  
[... ] ile turmayub canavarın kanın yerlere dökerdi. Ol meydan içre  
kaḍr gibi kankı canavarın ki üzerine at şaldırdı kaḍa-yı mübāramı gibi  
ecel bendi boynuna bağlardı. Bazu-yı pūrşoru kılaba vurub kankı şikāra

[173a] ki tir-i tiz küşadidüb atardı. Şāika gibi peykani qalub canavarı  
dū-nim eylerdi. Dest-i mübāreki her bazi ki tıyûr ardınca şalurdu 'adüvv-ü sigı  
üstüne. Tendbad-ı ı qahri gibi añı erişüb hışmāni minḱar hışmına alurdu.  
Bu üsluba tamam beyn-es-şalavatın olunca bu temāşa-yı bülend qubbe-i eflākla peyvend  
oldı. Şikār etiyle ol şahrada puşteler peydā olub ol  
puştelerden kan çeşmeleri ırmaqlar olub bādehu halka icāzet buyurub sa' ādetle şehre  
mürāca' at itdiler. Eyyām-ı şitā irüb ol ki lāzime idi tahḱiye olunmuşdı.  
Mahruse-i Edirne'de kışlamak üzere oldılar. Hāzret-i paşa-i 'āli-cenab mahruse-i  
Mısr-ı Qahire'den qalkub mu'avedet idince anda karar-ı hümayun itdiler.

**TPML, R. 1280, Koca Nişancı Salih b. Celal, *Tārih-i Budun*, 1529**  
**Fols. 78-79**

[78a] Bu dāsitan pādīşāh-ı 'ālem-penāh iqbālle Vize cânibine şikāra gidüb andan  
iqbālne taht-gāh-ı felek-iştibāha gelüb icrâ-i âyin-i saltanat ve infaz-ı kavanin cihândârı  
eyledüklerin beyan ider

Toḱzyüz otuzbeşinci târih-i ferhunde-felek mâh-ı muharrem-ül haremindaki rûzgâr-ı karar  
(Septemer 1528)  
Ve mevsimi sükûn itmişdi. Harif-i harifin unfuvân-ı zamânı ibtidâ-i avanı gelmişdi.  
Cihânın her kuşesi hâb-ı huzûra varmış, baş-ı zemîn bister-i istirahat olmuşdi.  
Şahrılardan baharın çadır-ı sebz-fâmi qalkub hazanın [.....] haymeleri tınab yemişdi.  
'Ālemin reng-i bî-rengine daği girub, 'ıyş u neşat zamânları sayd u şikār avânları idi.  
Bunuñ gibi mevsîm-i dîl-nuvâz içre hāzret-i pādīşāh-ı gerdun bargâh-ı nûr-u devlet gibi talî in  
Kuşāde felek-i iqbâl gibi esbâbına âmāde görüb haṭır-ı haṭır-i hüsrevaneleri davâ'-i

[79b] Sayd u şikâra müte‘âllik oldu. Vize tarafında mâ‘ruf olan şikârgâh-ı selâtin-i Nâmdâr hayliden korunmuş, mizân-ı muḳaddemât-ı saydı kurulmuşdı. Kenar-ı cuybârlarına Qaz ve ṭurna ve ördekleri dökülmüş, derûn-u saḡâsı ecnâs-ı vuḡûş u tuyûrla dolmuşdı. Evâḡir-i mâh-ı mezbûrda iḡbâlle ol cânibe şikâra müte‘âkkıb olub rikâb-ı hümâyûnlarınca Ḥazret-i paşâ-yı ‘âli-câ ile su gibi revân oldılar. Bâli-pâ-yı semendleri şaḡralarına kıdem basacak  
‘âcib temâşalar ḡarîb şikârlar âşikâr oldu.

## Beyt

Oldı anda çok temâşâ âşikâr. Görmemişdi kimse bir böyle şikâr.  
Ol yazıda çıkan cuyuş-u vuḡûş üzerine niḡe biñ tazî-i tâziler ile niḡe yüz hûn-rîz ve şikârbâz şaşonlar ve bozlar alayı sürdi. O kûşelerden uçan ‘asker-i ṭuyûr üstine ḡavâle olan havayiler leşkeriniñ yer u bâlâ bulut gibi gökyüzünü ṭonattı. O meydâna zîr u bâlâdan iki ‘asker bir birine girmişdi. Ortada ‘âcib dönüşler ve kovuşlar eylediler. Ceresler avâzı ile ol aralar ṭoldı. Şâhinler ile balabanlar qaraca qazlara kafire zilli Rum-ili ḡazileri gibi ṭokınırdı. Ṭurnaları şungurlar ḡallaḡ gibi gökden yöḡen yük gibi atarak indirirdi. Şâhbâz bâzlar elinden kebk u tiḡu bilmez idi. Bozlar ṭavşanlar ardınca birer kerre sıçardı. Ṭazılar kaçanı ḡovmada pehlivan idi. Şaşonlar ahuya şöyle şunar ṭiḡ-ı dendânın Bir vechile şunar idi ki üstüḡanları bir gezden şunar idi.

[79a] Şöyle şunarlardı naḡcire, her biri dönmüşdi bir şîre.  
Şâh-ı ‘âlemiñ elindeki bâziler nesr-i tâyir gibi gerḡe bülend-pervâz idi. ‘Âsıf pilleridir ki Süleymân-ı zemâna mü‘ti olmuşlardı. Altında ḡayy-ı tazılar ile âhuları şöyle kovar idi ki Gerdine piller daḡi ermez idi. Dest-i ṭiḡ-i cihângîri qaḡa gibi üzerlerine inince yolları Baḡlanurdu. Qerban-ı tîr u kemânına niḡesi qurban oldu. Hûn-ı şikârla ol ṭaraflar lâlezârlara Döndi. Ṭazileriñ dendânı ahular ḡasarı ile ḡancer-i hûn-feşân olub bâzileriñ Minkârı tiḡular şikârı ile ḡengal-i dem âlûd oldu. Canavarlar kanı ile ol şaḡra faḡa-yı bedehşana dönüb qaṭran-ı hûnla pür lâl ve yavakit oldu. Derya-yı hûn içre dem âlûd olub ..... âhular boynuzundan ol aralar her cân-ı şanı ender-şahla ṭolub kesilen şikârı bisteri içinde ḡubâb olub yüzerdi.

## TPML, R. 1283, Bostan, Cûlusname-i Sultan Süleyman Fol. 27

Nushun ḡuş u huş-u sem‘-i rıza ile işḡâ edüb [.....] cemil ihtar  
Eyledi ve şehri Niş daḡi mazrib-i ḡıyâm-ı celâl vâki‘ olub [....] ḡün  
Anda qarar kılub yerine se ḡün ḡöḡ edüb nice eyyâm gidüb  
Şofya ḡavâlisinden şürûr eyleyüb Filibe nevâḡisine saye’en vuşûl  
şalub, ol eṣnâda ḡazret-i pâdişâh-ı ‘âlem-penâh halledet ḡilâfetehunuñ  
ḡâtır-ı ḡâtiri şikâra meyl edüb, fermân-ı qaḡâ [.....] bulduka

eṭrâf-ı cevânibîñ âhâlisi sürülüb Uzuncaova nâm qoru ki  
 qadîm-ül eyyâmdan selâfîn-i ‘ azâmîñ saydgâhıdur, şikâr eyleye fermân-ı  
 pâdişâhiye mübâderet olub, ol havalide olan qazluklaruñ  
 halkı sürülüb, şahrâyı ve hıbâli iḥatâ kılub saydgâhı noḡta-i dayire  
 kıldılar ve ḥazret-i ḥilâfet-penâhı ‘ izz-u naşra daḡı Filibe nevâhisinde [...] gün  
 menzil be menzil [..... ] gelicek otaḡına ol dem heman  
 olurdı sa‘ âdetle şayda revân ne feraḡ olsa rûy-ı hevada âşikâr  
 anı şâhbâzile ederdı şikâr giderdi bu resme şikârındañ  
 komamışdı ‘ âlemde kebg ü kelenk bir niçe menzilden soñra şehr-i Filibe daḡı  
 maḡall-i nuzûl-i hümâyûn vakı‘ olub ol maḡalde iki gün qarar kılub  
 ikinci günden soñra bir rûz-i firûz ki şehsüvâr-ı ‘ âlem-i ‘ âl-i şaḡn-ı  
 şahrâ-yı asmâna teveccüh kılub guruh-ı encâm âḡvân-ı vuhûşî gibi ...  
 olub ‘ arşa-i cihân-ı ferr ṭel‘ âşından müte‘allıḡ ve der ḡışân olmışdı.  
 Saḡar u qatebinde gem sebz-i gülistân münîre ayniye gice oldı rûşen  
 Ḥazret-i Süleymân-ı zemân tünd-bâd-ı devlete süvâr olub saydgâha  
 Gelüb her qoldan vezîr-i ‘ âzâm daḡı halka-i halkı sürüb  
 Her taraf birbirin görür oldı. [...] jâhû u kuzân  
 Aranıb ve serḡân ve envâi‘ sebâ‘ vesâir ḡayvan şol  
 Mertebede cem‘ oldı ki mesd [...] vaz-el-vuhuş-u [...]ret  
 [...] ile müşahade vakı‘ oldı. Her cânibden sipah-ı [...] -penâh  
 [...] ve tayr [...] ve şemşirile şol qadar şikâr yıqdılar ki götürmesinden  
 ‘ âhir olub naḡcîrûn niçeleri şikârgâhda qaldı  
 zi her gune şayd [...] deşt [...] çendân ki ân hod kedeşt ???  
 zi ḡûn-ı şikârı zemîn şod temâm [...] cerh ez-âfâk [...] şam

**TPML, R. 1286, Nasuh, *Dastan-i Sultan Süleyman*  
 Fol. 47**

**Ḥaber-i avdet-nemûden-i pâdişâh-ı ‘ âlem-penâh tahtgâh-ı ma‘ âdelet-destgâh ez kal‘ â-i  
 Belḡrad fi evâsıt-ı mezbûre ve şikâr-kerden bâ maḡarr-ı tan bargâh**

B‘ âd haza [...]fi’l cümle şedâid-i şitâ evânı  
 Olub sefer mülâyim olmadıḡı eclden eṭrâf-ı ‘ âleme ve esnaf-ı  
 Benî-ümeme fetihnâmeler irsâl olundı. Memâlik-i âfaḡ yakın ve ırak seda-yı  
 beşâret ve nidâ-yı meserret ile ṭoldukdan sonra ḡüdâvendigâr-ı  
 dârâ-serîr ḡazretleri feth u fütûh birle kal‘ â-i Belḡrad’dan avdet  
 edüb, ‘ inân-ı ‘ azîmet hümâyûnları medâr-ı sa‘ âdet ve pâ-yı-taht-ı  
 ḡilâfet cânibine münsarif kılub giderken genc-ı hezain  
 Erzak sayd u şikârı “veleküm fiha mâteştahi enfusekum” mürḡân  
 Kebg-u ḡirâmın câzibe-i iştihâların kendülere erzâni buyurmaḡın  
 Cibâle-i sayd u şikâra ve bend-i kemend-dam kayd-ı kenara  
 Çıkmak içün mülâzıman-ı der-gâh ve mukarrebân-ı  
 Bargâhla sayd u şikâr ve seyr-i dâr u diyâr iderdı.

## **Nazm**

Buyurdu kim sipahdâran-ı mümtaz  
Vurub ol tayra yer yer pehlivanlar  
Olub ger kasab rahşanın tuzuna  
Yiyü şemşir u tîran Şehriyârın

yürüdü sayda çün şâhin ve şahbâz  
çeküb zencir ve zihden sad kemanlar  
siyah oldu cihan ahu gözine  
[..... ]mazlar akub hûn-ı şikârın

## APPENDIX II: IMAGES



**Fig. 1 Süleyman hunting a bear, Hünername Vol. II, TPML H.1524, fols. 67a-66b**



**Fig.2 detail**









Fig. 3 Süleyman hunting, Süleymannâme, TPML H. 1517, fol. 132a



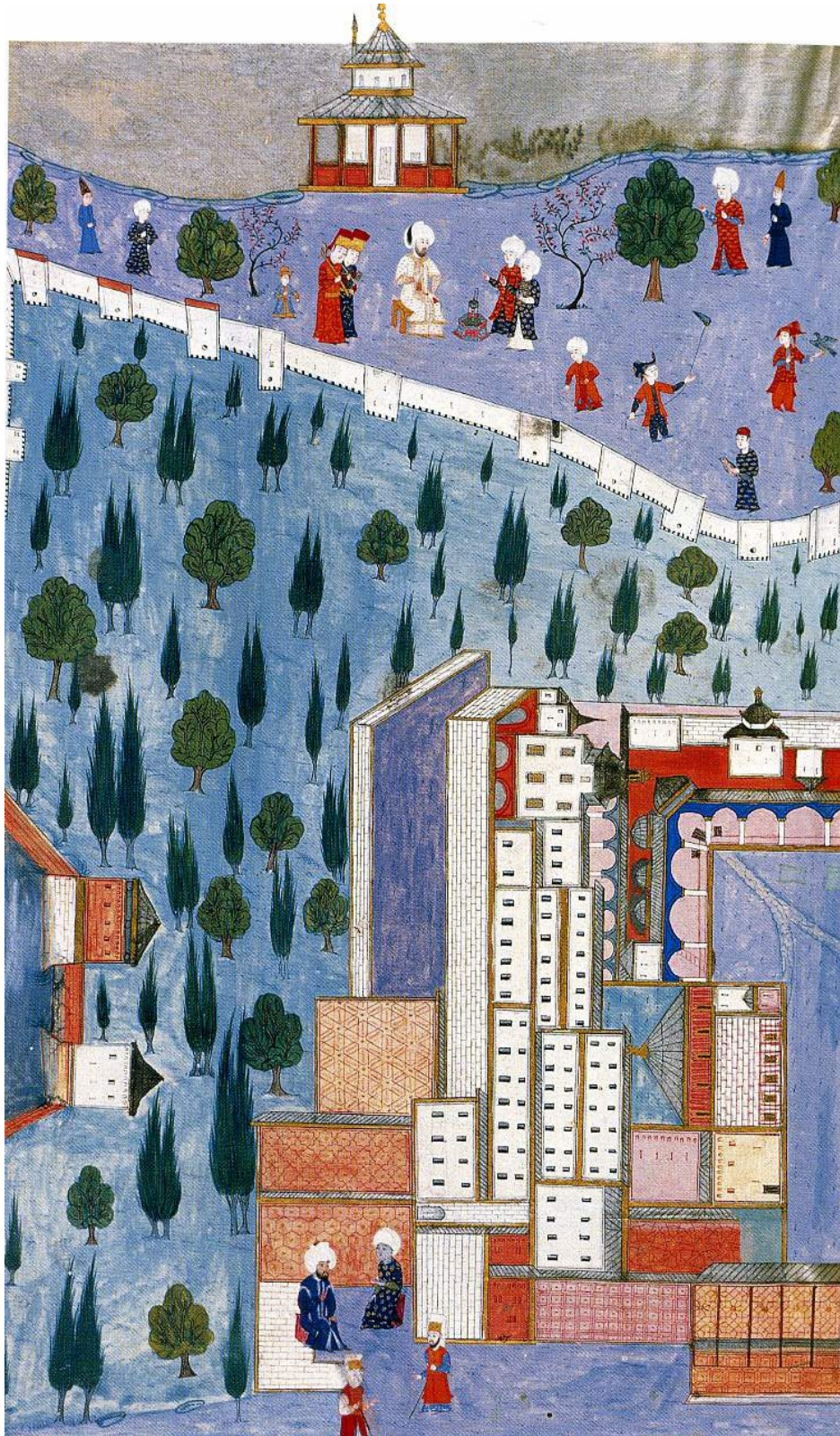


Fig.4 Garden of Topkapı Palace, TPML, Hünernâme, Vol. I, fol.232a





Fig. 5 detail

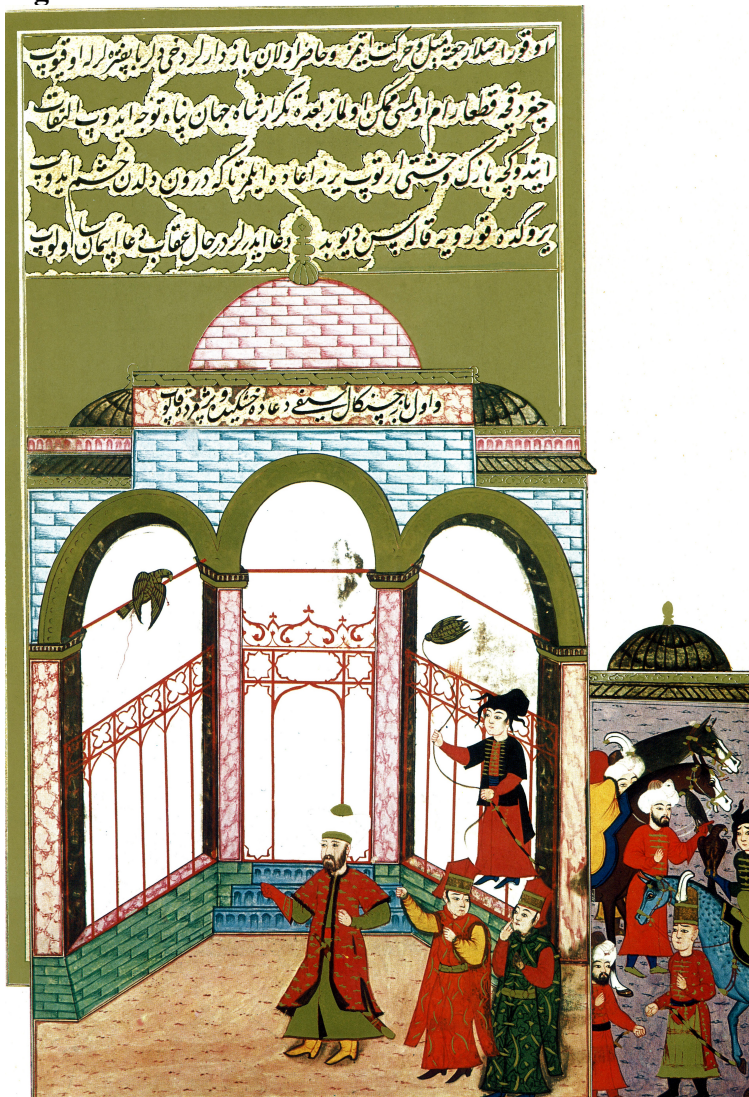


Fig. 6 Luring an escaped falcon of Murad I after a hunt, TPML, Hünernāme, Vol. I, fol.89b





Fig. 7, De Arte Venandi cum Avibus, MS Lat 1071, fol. 69r



Fig. 8 Bayezid I hunting in Yenişehir, TPML, Hünernâme, Vol.I, fol. 105a





**Fig. 9 detail**



**Fig. 10 Maharana Bhim Singh of Udaipur [reigned 1778-1828] Returns from a Boar Hunt. Rajasthan, India, circa 1810.**



**Fig. 11 detail**





Fig. 12 Murad I hunting, Hünernâme, TPML H. 1523, fol. 81a





**Fig. 13 Süleyman Hunting, Hünernâme, TPML H. 1524, fol. 53a**



**Fig. 14 detail, Procession of the Magi, Benozzo Gozzoli, Palazzo Medici, Florence, 1459**





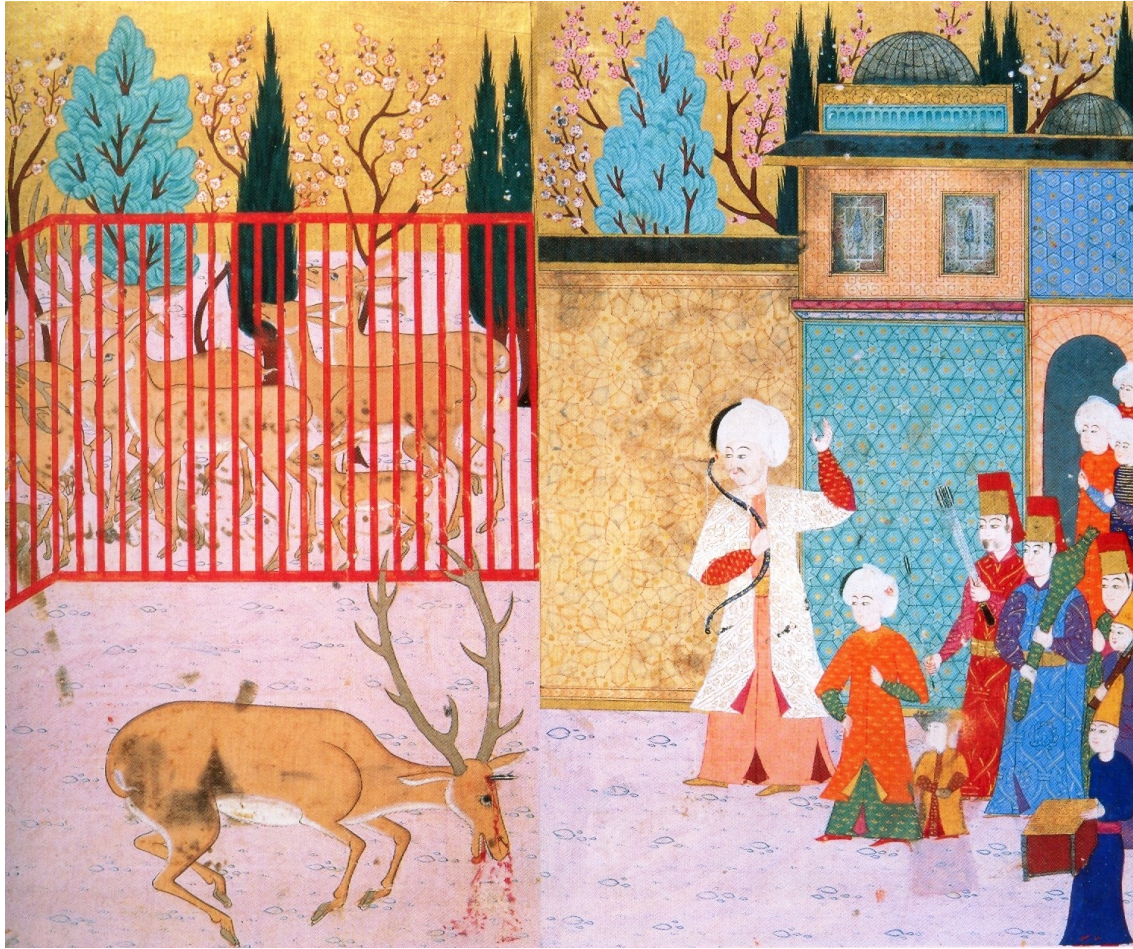
Fig. 15 Süleyman in Üsküdar Garden, Hünernâme, TPML H. 1524, 227b





Fig. 16 Süleyman watching the training of falcons, *Nusretnâme*, TPML H. 1365, fol. 186b, 1584





**Fig. 17 Süleyman shooting a deer, Hünernâme, TPML H. 1524, fol. 88a**



**Fig. 18 Süleyman shooting boars, Hünernâme, TPML H. 1524, fols. 56a-55b**





Fig. 19 Bayezid II in Üsküdar Garden, Talikizade Şehnamesi, TPML, A. 3592, fol. 27b





Fig. 20 Süleyman hunting, Süleymanname, TPML H. 1517, fol. 115a





**Fig. 21 Rustem and the Iranians hunt in Afrasiyab's reserve, Shahnama, CHUAM, fol.1r, 1560-61**



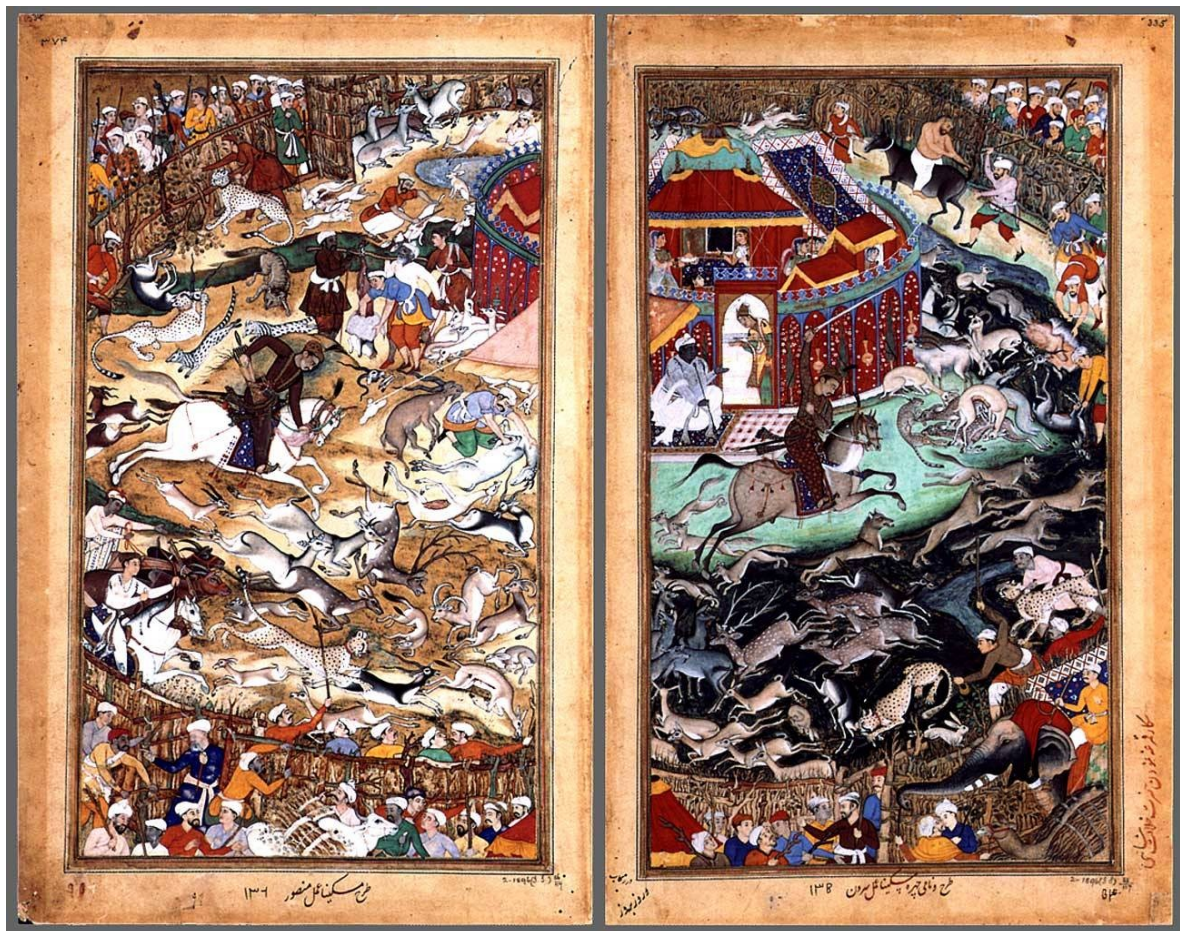


Fig. 22 Akbar Hunting near Lahore in 1567, V&A, c.1590



Fig. 23 detail

**Fig. 24 Süleyman after a hunt in Edirne, Hünernâme, TPML H. 1524, fol. 80b**





Fig. 25 Süleyman hunting, Süleymannâme, TPML H.1517, fol.576a





**Fig. 26 detail**



**Fig. 27 detail, Journey of the Magi, Church of the Holy Trinity, Hrastovlje, 15th century**





Fig. 28 Süleyman hunting, Süleymannâme, TPML, H. 1517, fol. 177a





Fig. 29 Süleyman hunting with Mehmed and Selim, Süleymannâme, TPML H. 1517, fol. 393a





Fig. 30 detail



Fig. 31 Rustem slaying his son, Şehnâme-i Turki, TPML H. 1522, 148a, 1560s





Fig. 32 Süleyman hunting, Süleymanname, TPML H. 1517, fol. 403a

**Fig. 33 Murad I striking a wolf covered in armour, *Hünernāme*, Vol. I, TPML, H. 1523, fol. 83b**





**Fig. 34 detail**



**Fig. 35 Çelebi Mehmed punishing the man who stole honey from the villagers, Hünernâme Vol. I, TPML H. 1523, fol. 121a**



**Fig. 36 A woman presenting the sultan pomegranates on a hunt, Hünernāme Vol. II, TPML, H. 1524, fol. 36b**



**Fig. 37 detail**



Fig. 38 Lale Mustafa Paşa hunting near Tbilisi, and a priest presenting him a skull, Nusretnâme, TPML H.1365, fol. 128b



Fig. 39 detail





Fig. 40 Selim I hunting crocodiles by the Nile, Hünernâme Vol I, TPML H.1523

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